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THE WORLD OF TO-DAY

WORKING OUT THE FISHER ACT

THE HUMAN ASPECT OF THE CONTINUATION SCHOOLS

UC-NRLF
$B 303 482

BY

BASIL A. YEAXLEE

YB 45663

HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW COPENHAGEN
NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE CAPE TOWN
BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS SHANGHAI PEKING

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WORKING OUT THE FISHER ACT

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THE WORLD OF TO-DAY

Under the general editorship of
VICTOR GOLLANCZ

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By the same Author.

(A brief survey of the development and possibilities of adult education in England and Wales).

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THE WORLD OF TO-DAY

WORKING OUT THE FISHER ACT

THE HUMAN ASPECT OF THE CONTINUATION SCHOOLS

BY

BASIL A. YEAXLEE

SECRETARY OF THE Y.M.C.A. UNIVERSITIES COMMITTEE
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BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS SHANGHAI PEKING
1921

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

THIS little book was already in the press when the Government issued instructions to spending departments that 'except with fresh Cabinet Authority, schemes involving expenditure not yet in operation are to remain in abeyance.' Not all the provisions of the Education Act involve expenditure in this sense, and in any case the Board of Education has expressed the wish that Local Education Authorities should go on with the preparation and submission of their schemes. The purpose of the book is therefore not affected, and all that seemed necessary to put it into proper perspective was to add the 'Note on New Arrangements' which follows Chapter IX.

The author desires to record his indebtedness to Miss E. D. Ovenden for help in the work of collating material, planning this little book, and preparing it for the press.

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UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

WORKING OUT THE FISHER ACT

THE HUMAN ASPECT OF THE CONTINUATION SCHOOLS

CHAPTER I

'A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF PUBLIC EDUCATION'

SOMEBODY has said that the Education Act of 1918 slipped through while the House of Commons was asleep. That is hardly true to the facts, for the fight over the Bill was hard and long. Indeed, two Bills were introduced and debated before the final one was passed into law. Mr. Fisher recently told a deputation how the provisions of the Bill were discussed with business men and Education Authorities all over the country, explained to great public meetings, and even argued out by men at the front during the war. It may at least be said that the Act marks a great national awakening to a need and a responsibility which had never before been more than partially realized by English people. Further, it has taken two years since the passing of the Act to bring home to the country at large anything of what it may mean. We are now at the stage of counting the cost. But there is some danger of doing this without understanding the extent and value of that to which, as a nation, we now stand committed.

The Act provides for practically all stages of life, 'from the cradle to the grave'; for though adult education is not specifically mentioned, it is undoubtedly affected by certain clauses. The Act is framed 'with a view to the establishment of a national system of public education available for all persons capable of profiting thereby.' In the *Draft Suggestions for the Arrangement of Schemes under the Educa-*

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tion Act, 1918, subsequently issued by the Board of Education, it is stated that 'one of the most important purposes of the Act . . . is to establish the principle that all forms of education shall be considered as parts of a single whole, and to secure that all Local Education Authorities, so far as their powers extend, shall contribute to the establishment of an adequate national system.'

The plan includes nursery schools, elementary, secondary, and continuation schools, technical and 'further' education, and teaching of university standard. The ideal of education for everybody is put forward in the spirit of the speech made by the King when he laid the foundation-stone of the new University College at Swansea: 'Efficiency is much, but it is not all. We must never forget that education is a preparation for life, and that its true aim is the enlargement of the human spirit. It will be the task of your college to send out into the world men and women fully equipped for the material work which awaits them, and with minds attuned to high ideals, opened to the rich and varied interests of modern life, and steadfastly set towards the service of their fellows.' With an aim no less inspiring, the Act lays upon Local Education Authorities certain compulsory *duties*, and a great many optional *powers*, respecting all kinds of education (other than intra-mural university education) carried on within their respective areas. Nothing so comprehensive, so complete, so statesmanlike, and so liberal in spirit has ever been accomplished in the history of British educational legislation.

Clearly it is impossible, within the compass of so small a book as the present, to consider the Act in all its bearings and details. These pages, however, are based upon a careful survey of all the available schemes prepared for very different types of locality by the Local Education Authorities, and presented to the Board of Education, as the Act requires. Our treatment of the subject will thus not be merely theoretical. We shall not be concerned simply with a general exposition of the Act itself, or with speculative ideas as to how it might be applied. Our effort will rather be to afford some clear indication of what the Authorities actually are proposing to undertake. No dry tabulation

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of details would serve our purpose. We shall endeavour to look at the facts, not as items in a piece of machinery, but as factors in the daily life of the groups of persons who are directly affected—children, 'young persons,' adult students, teachers, parents, employers, members of Education Committees, and the community of ordinary citizens. A human note is struck in nearly all the schemes. Through them there breathes a great relief that elementary education can be remodelled, the priceless time of adolescence redeemed, and adult education properly based.

Among all the provisions made by the Act, those dealing with compulsory day continuation schools appear to have attracted most attention. Many people still seem to suppose that the Act contains little beyond these. The reason for this is not that the idea, or the practice, of continuative education is new. Local Education Authorities have provided evening classes; a number of business firms have carried on day continuation schools for the adolescents among their workers, and have made regular attendance at these a condition of employment for young people below a given age; in Denmark, France, Germany, and America (to mention only outstanding instances) public day continuation schools have become an accepted part of the educational system, and in many cases have been made compulsory. The new features which render continuation schools so important a part of the educational provision now to be made by the Authorities are, as Sir Robert Blair pointed out in addressing the British Association, that attendance is *compulsory* for all young people who have left the elementary school and are not attending any other form of school recognized by the Authority; that they are held in the *day*, and have not to compete with the natural inclination of young people to amuse themselves or to rest when the day's work is over; and that they are real *schools* as contrasted with a series of unrelated classes chosen at the whim of the individual pupil. To establish them will involve great expense, and will often mean some reorganization of staff in office or factory. For such varied reasons they have given rise at once to comment, criticism, and enthusiastic advocacy which may seem disproportionate, and which

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certainly have tended to obscure other very important parts of the Act.

None the less, compulsory day continuation schools may well be regarded as central to the system which the Act creates. This is not merely because they fill a gap in our national educational organization. Their supreme value is that they rectify a grave mistake in psychology. They may unify the pattern. It is a far more vital matter that they bring colour, life, and substance to the material. They close up what has been for the majority a hopeless gap between elementary and adult education. But they also impart an altogether richer quality to the whole process.

We shall therefore take the continuation school as cardinal to all the other parts of the new system, though without claiming for it that place of sole importance which those unfamiliar with the Act have sometimes assigned to it.

CHAPTER II

THE NEW OUTLOOK FOR THE CHILD

HITHERTO formal education has ceased, for the majority of people in England, at the age of fourteen—if not before. The most progressive among elementary schools lost their hold upon their boys and girls soon after the thirteenth birthday. Even while they were at school the children were often handicapped in almost every conceivable way. In parts of the country, both industrial and rural, the half-time system stunted their bodies and cramped their minds. Where that system was not in operation there was often a great deal of deleterious employment before and after school hours, as well as on Sundays and holidays. It is true that secondary schools, private schools, or public schools opened the way for some children to travel further towards complete development of personality. With a longer period at school went, as a matter of course, more satisfactory physical conditions. But these privileges were confined to a few hundred thousand out of the millions of England's boys and girls. Access to them depended upon either the special

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mental ability of the child, the financial prosperity of the parents, or the freedom of both from an economic necessity that the child should begin at the earliest possible age to earn money.

Elementary education too often has been formal, code-bound, and unsatisfactory. This was not the fault of the teachers, most of whom longed ardently for the opportunity to fulfil their vocation in a very different fashion from that which circumstances forced upon them. But they had to attempt to give every child a smattering of all 'required' subjects before he attained to the fatal success of passing the seventh standard, or gained release for ever from school on the ground that he was old enough, and knew enough, to go to work. As a result a dead level tended to occur. Backward children failed to develop, and perhaps men and women who once were such have ground for the familiar remark, '*I* never learned anything at school!' On the other hand, bright children were compelled to 'mark time' for the last year of their school life, to the disappointment of child, teacher, and parent alike. Large classes, inadequate staffing, and crowded buildings prevented any approach to individual attention, or even to proper grading. In rural areas the difficulty of grading arises from the scattered and sparse conditions of population. Thus the Wiltshire scheme says: 'The majority of Elementary Schools are so small that children in different stages of advancement have to be taught by the same teacher. Schools are very numerous where children in all standards are taught by one or by two teachers.' In addition there was so often the depressing effect of facing a dead end. There were compensations in a few instances, where scholarships or free places at secondary schools were to be won. But the general impression was frequently that of crowded futility.

Under the Act, the lowest age at which a child may leave the elementary school is fourteen. In order to avoid interruption at the very climax of this part of his education, he is compelled to remain till the end of the term in which he reaches that age. Authorities have power to make bye-laws raising the age-limit for compulsory attendance to fifteen, and one or two have had the courage already to

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declare, in their schemes, their definite intention of doing so. In addition, any Authority may obtain permission from the Board of Education to continue 'the instruction of children in public elementary schools till the end of the school term in which they reach the age of sixteen or (in special circumstances) such later age as appears to the Board desirable.' Half-time education is no longer permissible before the age of fourteen—a victory which Mr. Fisher won only after a prolonged and determined struggle.* Later we shall see the significance of the clauses under which the Local Education Authority determines the number of hours for which children under fourteen may be employed when not at school, and of the limitation of those hours by the terms of the Act itself. The Authority has a duty to arrange for the medical inspection, at regular intervals, of all children in elementary schools, and a power to arrange for medical treatment. These functions are now extended to schools other than elementary—i.e. to secondary and continuation schools—the cost, where the Authority provides treatment, being charged to the parents, unless the Authority shall determine otherwise. It has special responsibilities with regard to physically defective and epileptic, as well as mentally defective, children. 'If satisfied in the case of any children that, owing to the remoteness of their homes or the conditions under which the children are living, or other exceptional circumstances affecting the children, those children are not in a position to receive the full benefit of education by means of the ordinary provision made for the purpose by the Authority, the Authority may, with the approval of the Board of Education, make such arrangements, either of a permanent or temporary character, and including the provision of board and lodging, as they think best suited for the purpose of enabling those children to receive the benefit of efficient elementary education, and may for that purpose enter into such agreement with the parent of any such child as they think proper.'

What all this may mean is revealed in the pages of the scheme issued by the London County Council, the Education Authority for about one-tenth of the elementary school

* But see note, p. 85.

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children in the whole country. There you may read in detail of tragic facts unrealized by those who merely scan the statement issued by the Ministry of Health that in 1917 there were in this country 1,000,000 children so mentally and physically defective as to be unable to derive reasonable benefit from the education provided by the rate-payers. But there too you may discover how great is the array of remedial and preventive activities incarnated in the staff of doctors, nurses, and psychological specialists; there are open-air schools, and schools for the blind and deaf, while clinics are on all hands. Authorities for other great cities present records and plans that are equally appealing in their degree. But the full force of what is being done to lay the physical foundation of education comes home to us when we remember that the smallest and most remote elementary school in a country district has its clinic for eyes and teeth at least, while for the more serious physical needs of the children it can avail itself of the provision made centrally by the County Authority under which it comes.

Under the Act, 'courses of advanced instruction for the older or more intelligent children [at elementary schools], including children who stay at such schools beyond the age of fourteen,' *must* be provided by the Authority. This makes better grading possible, and does away with the old trouble of 'marking time.' There are many ways of working out this principle. Some Authorities favour the plan of Central Schools, to which may be sent all those older and more intelligent children who rise to the top in each of a group of neighbouring elementary schools. The disadvantage of this is that it denudes those ordinary elementary schools of their keenest and most vigorous pupils, thus tending to depress the tone of all but the Central School. Another plan is that of the Higher Top School—i.e. an elementary school that has all the usual ages and grades within it, but has, in addition, more advanced top classes to which are drafted the 'older and more intelligent' children from neighbouring schools. The weakness of this is much the same as in the case of the Central School plan. You have indeed one complete school, with all the healthy stimulus

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and breadth of life that comes of mingling different types, ages, and measures of ability in the life of the school. But the schools from which the higher top pupils are recruited are still in one sense robbed. Choice is largely determined by circumstances. In a sparsely populated rural area, for example, there may not be a sufficient number of older and more intelligent children within travelling distance of a Central School to make such a school justifiable. Then a higher top is the only way of meeting the requirements of the Act, unless the Central Schools serve large areas, and are either residential, or situated in places where the children can be boarded out in hostels or with local families: this last-named plan is being adopted by the Authorities for certain rural counties.

Formerly, in the great majority of cases, industrial or commercial life for a girl or boy as a full-time worker began at fourteen at latest. For those who left the elementary school at this age there was no prospect of continued education, except in voluntary evening classes; these usually were not free, though evening scholarships were sometimes awarded, or fees remitted in virtue of very regular attendance and sustained excellence of work. To attend such classes meant to give up the only hours of leisure and recreation that the demands of daily employment allowed. As a result, while various Authorities could report what seemed to be a very satisfactory number of attendances at evening classes, the percentage of children who, on leaving the elementary school, took up evening classes was really very low. Several Authorities point this out in their schemes, and also remark the tendency, in such conditions, to choose subjects of purely vocational character. I take the following from *Manchester's Educational Problem*:

'Of all children who finally leave the Elementary School, 75 per cent. fail to attend any other school whatever; of the 25 per cent. who do attend some other school, the great majority enrol at Evening Continuation Schools for three evenings per week, and for not more than thirty weeks per year; of those who enrol at Evening Schools, a number fail to attend more than a few times, a further number attend very irregularly on account of overwork or for other reasons,

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whilst a considerable number either fail to attend for the whole session or fail to attend for more than one or two sessions altogether.'

In more than one case where efforts have been made to get the members of Boys' and Girls' Clubs to take up non-vocational subjects of study, to attend lectures, or to adopt and practise hobbies that have an educational interest, the writer has found that attendance at evening vocational classes created an indisposition on the part of these adolescents to give any part of the remainder of their precious free time to cultural pursuits. And who can blame them? The desire to play for at least some evenings in the week is natural and wholesome.

Under the Act it becomes the *duty* of the Authority to make arrangements for 'the preparation of children for further education in schools other than elementary, and their transference at suitable ages to such schools.' This clearly points to secondary schools, junior technical, commercial and trade schools, and day continuation schools. Central schools and higher tops also come within the range of this clause, unless they are regarded as varieties of advanced elementary school, which seems probable. But in any case, the range of choice which normally opens out before the elementary school boy or girl has been greatly increased by the requirements of the Act.

The first opportunity arrives at a period in the life of a child which is rapidly becoming recognized as hardly less important than the crisis at puberty. There is a remarkable unanimity among the schemes with regard to this. The point is well put in *Manchester's Educational Problem*: 'It is hoped that the Local Education Authority will, by all the means at their disposal, impress upon parents generally the necessity of recognizing the vital importance in the lives of their children of the ages eleven and twelve. There is no date more important than the eleventh birthday of the child in his educational life. It is at this date that the parent should give the most serious consideration to his intentions concerning the future of his child; that the child, so far as lies in his power at so early an age, should be asked to give expression to his desires for his own future;

that the schoolmaster should regard it as one of his most important duties to advise both parent and child from the fullness of his personal knowledge gained in contact with the child throughout its school life; and that the Local Education Authority should make such provision as will render possible for every child the educational destiny suitable to the capabilities with which he is endowed.'

The County of Pembroke scheme proposes to raise the upper limit of age for elementary education to fifteen. 'On completing the work of Standard V in the Primary Schools, or reaching the age of twelve years, whichever comes first, all children will be transferred at the beginning of the next school year from the Primary Schools to Secondary Schools (if their parents wish it and if the children pass a qualifying entrance examination), or to Central Schools or Central Classes.'

The Essex Authority aims at 'a simplification of the existing organization by the gradual development of a system of primary education up to approximately twelve years of age in one type of school, followed by secondary education in other schools of various types for all pupils above that age.'

The Middlesex Authority is adopting a similar policy.

Many schemes take a similar point of view, and divide the school life of the child into two periods. The first begins at five (or six, if nursery schools are in operation). At the age of eleven, or a year later if he develops more slowly, the chance is given to practically every child to proceed from the elementary to the secondary school. The Pembroke scheme makes transfer possible up to the age of fourteen, or even fifteen. Once at the secondary school, he may safely reckon on full-time education till he is fifteen or sixteen. Most Authorities require from the parents an undertaking that the boy or girl shall not be taken away from the secondary school (or the equivalent vocational school) for a period of four years from the time of entry, if a scholarship has been awarded. If he does not go to a secondary school, he remains under some form of elementary instruction till he is fourteen, when the

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second period of childhood ends and the period of adolescence (fourteen to eighteen) begins.

The two critical ages are thus eleven and fourteen. The choice at eleven is whether the child shall go to a secondary school or whether he shall aim at a central school or higher top. At fourteen, or in some cases earlier, it is whether he shall enter a junior technical, trade, or commercial school, and, by remaining there for full-time instruction till he is sixteen, become exempt from the obligation to attend continuation school from sixteen to eighteen; or whether he shall go out to work, and attend day continuation school for an assigned number of hours each year until he is sixteen (an age which will be increased to eighteen, seven years from the appointed day). The relative cultural and vocational issues of that momentous choice will appear when we come to consider the prospects of the 'young person.' My point here is that before the child in the elementary school there now stretches out the highway of education on which he may travel for the remainder of his life in pursuit of a goal which is largely determined for him by the capacity and inclination that he shows while still in the midst of his schooldays. That highway may lead to the university and to business or professional life: it may lead to varied forms of adult education and a career in agriculture or industry. In either case, the elementary school is now definitely concerned with that ultimate destiny, and, under the Act, must prepare the boy or girl for those next steps which will bring them to a fresh choice at each fork in the road. For the new system is essentially elastic and humane. While the choices, especially at the ages of eleven and fourteen, are so far-reaching, they are in no sense made irrevocable by a plan which works as inexorably as a machine. At every point there is provision and encouragement for the study of the child's unfolding personality, and for adaptation to this of his training and equipment.

'Then' and 'now'; some readers may think the contrast too sharply drawn. For years we have had secondary schools; other types of school to follow up the elementary have been gradually developed by progressive Authorities;

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and the provision of scholarships and free places has been steadily increasing. True: yet this has been the case only so far as the individual Authority has happened to be sufficiently liberal to follow these lines. The child has had no legal right to plead. Scholarships and free places have been far too few, and frequently have involved competitive conditions that left the economic barrier still in the path of many promising children. Also the incomplete grading of schools and the failure to present the system as a whole have prevented just that preparation for various types of development upon which the Act now insists. A vital feature of the Act is that it once and for all overthrows the economic barrier, by requiring unconditionally that 'adequate provision shall be made in order to secure that children and young persons shall not be debarred from receiving the benefits of any form of education by which they may be capable of profiting through inability to pay fees,' and further states specifically that 'no fees shall be charged or other charges of any kind made in any public elementary school' (this includes non-provided schools) 'except as provided by the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906, and the Local Education Authorities (Medical Treatment) Act, 1909.' In addition, 'Part II Authorities' (i.e. Authorities for higher education, which includes secondary) have now the 'power to provide allowances for maintenance' as well as scholarships, bursaries, and free places. This means that, in choosing secondary education, the child and his parents can see ahead how it will be possible for him to live while he is in process of receiving it. How this provision is to be carried out the Act leaves the Authorities to determine. The recent Report of the Board of Education Departmental Committee on Scholarships and Free Places brings fresh pressure to bear on Authorities, and no doubt some of its recommendations will take effect in new regulations issued by the Board of Education for the conduct of State-aided secondary schools. The Committee suggests that the required percentage of free places in aided secondary schools, calculated on admissions, should be raised from twenty-five to forty. It states that more than two million children in elementary schools,

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fit for secondary education, have, under existing conditions, no prospect of obtaining it.

Many of the Authorities, in their schemes, show their intention of increasing existing provision in such a way that lack of free places shall not cause any child to miss his chance. Of course there is a loop-hole for Authorities in the phrase 'by which they are capable of profiting,' and some schemes which appear extremely liberal, and seem to aim at stimulating the efforts of the child to win his own way by maintaining a high standard of work, have been criticized as subtly demanding more than the ordinary child can be expected to accomplish. But the intention of the Act is clear, and it is for parents and rate-payers in any given area to see that the Authority gives due effect to it. An excellent lead is given by the Wallasey Authority, which declares quite uncompromisingly that—'It is proposed that the Municipal Secondary Schools shall be FREE.'

Nor is it only a matter of longer school-life and economic freedom to enjoy it that is at stake. The Act demands a *richer* school life and an education, even in the elementary stage, which is more closely related to the needs and interests of every day than has formerly been possible under existing regulations. To this there has been a ready response by Authorities, guided by enlightened and enthusiastic Directors of Education. There has been a long-standing desire, especially on the part of teachers, for improvement in this direction. Beginnings have been made in many places, and the Act lends a timely stimulus to reform—less, perhaps, by specific requirements, for it lays down no curriculum, than by its general trend and spirit. The circulars issued by the Board of Education do not fail to emphasize this. In several schemes submitted by Authorities there are phrases like that of the L.C.C., 'reading has changed from a lesson to a pursuit.' In a later paragraph the scheme continues: 'Perhaps the most noticeable change of all is the increase of incidental activities which involve a departure from the time-table. These are mainly visits to places of educational interest and school journeys. The visits, especially visits to the theatre to see Shakespearean drama, have multiplied enormously during recent years. The school-journey move-

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ment, which was retarded by the War, is now going rapidly forward.' This is the note that dominates references to curriculum in elementary schools throughout the schemes. Authorities that have made progress on these lines propose to go further: others intend to begin. The school will become much more intimately related to the community.

Several schemes emphasize the importance of regarding the local libraries, museums, parks, and gardens as a part of the school equipment, not merely for recreation, but for the study of botany, local history, natural science, and similar subjects. Lord Lytton has recently urged upon London elementary school managers the value of Regional Surveys, carried out by the children of elementary schools, as he has tested it in experience. The elementary school would be the 'regional museum' of any given locality. In it would be stored and classified information relating to the natural features, animal and plant life, public services and buildings, and historical records of the neighbourhood, collected by the children themselves and set forth by them, under the direction of their teachers, in maps, charts, and plans, together with specimens of peculiar local interest or application gathered in their rambles. Lord Lytton claimed that the adoption of the scheme, through the resulting concentration on the local conditions in our widely differing counties, would counteract the present tendency of our elementary schools, by their uniformity of curriculum, to turn out children of one type. The school itself would become of greater interest to the children, their parents and the parish generally, and the children would cease to be merely passive objects of instruction. This is the kind of outlook that is manifest in most of the schemes.

The Act itself suggests many overdue changes in method when it lays upon the Authority the duty of 'including in the curriculum of elementary schools, at appropriate stages, practical instruction suitable to the ages, abilities, and requirements of the children.' Later it says that 'the expression "practical instruction" means instruction in cookery, laundrywork, housewifery, dairywork, handicrafts, and gardening, and such other subjects as the Board declare to be subjects of practical instruction.' This opens up great

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possibilities, limited, of course, by the availabilityof facilities in the way of workshops, garden ground, etc. But most schemes interpret the requirement wisely and with the necessary amount of imagination. Some are, if the word be permitted, 'wooden' in their proposals, merely taking one subject (generally cookery) for girls, and one (usually woodwork) for boys. In the main, however, there is appreciation of the fact that this practical instruction is not by way of addition or contrast to the rest of the curriculum, but part of a living whole which aims at 'showing the pupils how to learn from life.' To this point we shall return in dealing with the curriculum of continuation schools. Here we may note that the interest and value of practical instruction in elementary schools is increased tenfold by the fact that the pupil will *certainly* carry the work further as a continuation pupil for at least two years after leaving the elementary school. This makes the whole thing worth while, as it often could not be before the Act was passed.

The now famous Section 17 crowns the new ideal of elementary school life. It confers a *power* which is almost unlimited, except by the originality of the Authority and the resources it possesses or can bring under contribution. The section involves the beginning, in the elementary school, of a process of education through physical, social, and recreational activities which has its finest effect at the subsequent periods of adolescent and adult education. It encourages that co-operation between the Authorities and voluntary associations which makes for the enrichment and the wise ordering of civic life, and by so doing it implants educational ideals in organizations that might otherwise never realize them. Under this section Authorities, 'as respects children attending public elementary schools, and . . . as respects other children and young persons and persons over the age of eighteen attending educational institutions, may, with the approval of the Board of Education, make arrangements to supply or maintain or aid the supply or maintenance of—

'(*a*) holiday or school camps, especially for young persons attending continuation schools;

'(*b*) centres and equipment for physical training, playing-fields (other than the ordinary playgrounds of public

elementary schools not provided by the Local Education Authority), school baths, school swimming-baths;

'(*c*) other facilities for social and physical training in the day or evening.'

There is a general disposition on the part of Authorities to give full scope for the expansion of school-life by means of such facilities as these. Several of the larger Authorities, for example, propose to set up permanent school camps, acquiring for this purpose disused military camps in suitable neighbourhoods. Others propose to make arrangements with such movements as the Boy Scouts, the Girl Guides, the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. A valuable effect of the clause is that Juvenile Organization Committees are being recognized by many Authorities, as the Board recommends, as the co-ordinating medium through which co-operation with voluntary agencies may be secured most conveniently and efficiently. In some places, as at Portsmouth, a special Juvenile Welfare Committee has been set up by voluntary agencies of all kinds, including the Churches, for aiding the Authority to carry out this duty, and has been related officially to the Authority in a way that makes it possible for the Committee to receive and administer a substantial grant. The value of evening play-centres is cordially recognized by most Authorities, and the schemes urge further provision of them.

The position of private elementary schools has long been a difficulty, and often a weakness, in the educational life of the country. Children have obtained exemption from attendance at the public elementary schools on the ground that they attend private ones. Yet the training received at such schools was often far inferior to that given at the 'council school,' while almost of necessity the equipment was much poorer. Also, as added privileges have been attached to attendance at public elementary schools, children at private schools have definitely lost a great deal. At the same time, parents who could afford to send their children to private schools have usually done so, partly because of the individual attention they would receive there (though the schemes show an almost universal intention on the part of Authorities to reduce to about forty the average size of elementary classes) and partly for other reasons—or prejudices. Now

the private schools are brought right into the picture. Repeatedly the Act insists that an Authority, in taking action with respect to the duties and powers imposed upon it, must have regard to existing efficient provision. This means that schools not set up or controlled by the Authority must, wherever possible, be brought into the local, and so into the national, system of education. The Act definitely applies this principle to private schools which supply a secondary education. These schools, if approved by the Board of Education, will be accounted legitimate alternatives to continuation schools. All private schools must send to the Board certain specified information. New schools must do so within three months of opening. All such schools may apply to the Board for free inspection, or, if they wish, may seek inspection by a British university or a Local Education Authority. Authorities have the power to extend to private schools the whole of the advantages of medical inspection and treatment if requested to do so by the persons having the management of the school, and the cost of medical treatment, as distinguished from medical inspection (which, says Mr. Arthur Thomas, appears to be afforded free of cost to the school), may be imposed upon the parent. The two are separable, and pupils in a private school may be medically inspected by the Local Authority, while preferring treatment by their own medical man.

All this tends to raise the standard of the private school, and to give it status within the national system, without taking from it the special freedom which is its characteristic.

Now we turn to the boy or girl who, at the end of the term within which he or she has become fourteen, goes from whatever school, public or otherwise, he or she has been attending, not to a secondary, vocational, or central school, but to work and to a day continuation school.

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CHAPTER III

THE PROSPECTS OF THE YOUNG PERSON

I

THE adolescent, or 'young person,' is defined in the Act as one under eighteen years of age who is no longer a child. He ceases to be a child when his parents cease to be under an obligation to cause him to receive efficient elementary instruction, or otherwise to attend school as the law requires. Formerly the adolescent was left as much to his own devices —apart from the discipline connected with his daily work— as if he were an adult. The plunge into work among grown-up people, together with the fact that he was beginning to earn money, and the slackening of parental control, produced in his mind the false impression that, when he left the elementary school behind, the period of education for him was past. It has been stated that there are in England and Wales, between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, approximately 2,800,000 adolescents, of whom over 80 per cent. are not in attendance at any school whatever. In a few instances, somewhere between seventeen and twenty-five the 'young person' took up his studies again, from motives of a vocational kind, or occasionally from a true desire for culture, only to find, as a rule, that he had forgotten most of what he had learnt at school. Probably he had lost also the habit of learning. He was at least badly handicapped in his new efforts.

The worst result of the gap in his education, however, was that a critical period of physical, intellectual, and emotional expansion was neglected. Sir Michael Sadler said in 1908, when he recorded, in an important volume on *Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere*, the results of researches made by himself and other members of the University of Manchester, 'The years which immediately follow the day school course are the critical years of adolescence, when stimulating instruction, technical training, and well-directed

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guidance in matters of conduct and personal hygiene are often most needed and, if wisely given, most helpful towards healthy living and self-control. Those whose work lies among boys and girls of this age, especially in cities, lament the spoiling of promise and the waste of power which they see caused by lack of tendance and of invigorating discipline.' Writing in the same connexion about America, he said: 'In the great cities of the Eastern States, and especially in Massachusetts, the waste of mental and moral power caused by lack of suitable training during adolescence is now recognized as a grave evil which impairs the social welfare of the community and threatens its industrial efficiency.' At that time he held the chair of Professor of Education, and no problem within his special field seemed to him more urgent than that of providing adequate continuation schools.

In a circular on *Continuation School Teaching*, addressed to teachers in the Army, the Board of Education says of the Act: 'This measure is intended to bring within the effective scope of national education the period of adolescence, a period of critical importance for the development and discipline of all the powers of mind and body.'

No psychologist could rest satisfied with our system of education as it has been hitherto. During the adolescent period in the lives of the great mass of our people awakening capacities have not been directed, and certain tastes, impulses, and interests have not been dealt with when first realized. To the development of the powers of reproduction is related the unfolding of many other faculties that are vital to the proper growth of the intellect and the imagination. These have been only partially recognized, and cultivated, if at all, only by chance. There has been a resultant tendency in the adolescent to arrested development, to one-sidedness, to exaggeration, or even to perversion. The spirit of inquiry, of creative activity, of self-expression, so naturally vigorous during these years, has been allowed to remain latent. It is impossible, in the very nature of things, to anticipate this situation by suitable training during the elementary school stage: you cannot deal effectively with forces that have not yet sprung into active life. On the other hand, hundreds, if not thousands, of men and women have discovered how nearly

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insuperable is the difficulty of overtaking it when adult life has been reached. Many have given up the attempt in despair. Far more have never even thought of making it. In fact you cannot make sure of educating a nation in any real sense at all merely by making all its children attend school till they are fourteen. Neither can you rectify the mistake simply by establishing a magnificent adult education movement. If the time of adolescence is missed, something is definitely lost—one would almost say beyond all hope of recovery.

The Act makes it a *duty* of Authorities to provide compulsory day continuation schools for all young persons under eighteen, except those exempted for reasons specified in the Act. For the first seven years from the appointed day for this part of the Act, compulsory attendance will cease at sixteen, though voluntary attendance will, of course, be permissible if the Authority provides instruction and if the employer will release the pupil. Each young person must attend for 320 hours in the year, though for these first seven years the Authority may decide to reduce the number of hours to 280 in the year. The hours may be ' distributed as regards times and seasons as may best suit the circumstances of each locality.'

Young persons are exempted from attendance if they are above fourteen on the appointed day; or are above sixteen and have passed a matriculation examination or an equivalent recognized by the Board; or have been, up to the age of sixteen, full-time pupils in a school recognized by the Board of Education as efficient; or have received, up to sixteen, suitable and full-time instruction in some other manner. Boys who have been trained for sea-service and are engaged in it are also exempt, as are young persons who are actually under full-time instruction satisfactory to the Board and the Authority, and those who are under suitable and efficient part-time instruction for the same number of hours in the year, falling within the same period of the day, as they would otherwise have to spend at continuation school.

Attendance may not be required between seven in the evening and eight in the morning, except in special circum-

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stances where 'young persons are employed at night or otherwise employed at abnormal times.' Neither shall it be required on a Sunday, or at a time exclusively set apart for religious observance by the religious body to which the young person belongs. Trade and public holidays and half-holidays are not to be used for continuation school attendance. Finally, the Authority has a *power* to require the young person to be released, on any day when he attends continuation school, for any period not exceeding two hours (in addition to the actual school hours) which it considers necessary in order that he may be in a fit mental and bodily condition to receive full benefit from attendance at school.

The Authority cannot require any young person to attend a continuation school held at, or in connexion with, the place of his employment (i.e. a "works school") without his consent, which he may withdraw at a month's notice in writing. If he attends such a school, it must be open to inspection either by the Authority or by the Board, as those responsible for the school may choose [Section 10 (8)]. If by attending it he is to be exempted from attendance at the school provided by the Authority, it must be under the control and direction of the Authority [Section 3 (1)].

The preference of the young person, or of the parent of a young person under sixteen, must, as far as practicable, be considered by the Authority in deciding which continuation school he shall be required to attend, and if any part of the instruction given there offends his religious belief (or that of his parent if he is under sixteen), the Authority must, if practicable, arrange for him either to receive some other instruction instead of what to him is objectionable, or to attend another continuation school.

Bodies other than the Authority may provide continuation schools, but if they do, these schools cannot be recognized as fulfilling the requirements of the Act unless they are under the control and direction of the Authority. In preparing schemes the Authority must 'have regard to any existing supply of efficient and suitable schools or colleges not provided by Local Education Authorities, and to any proposals to provide such schools or colleges.' The

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Authority must also 'have regard to the desirability of including arrangements for co-operation with Universities in the provision of lectures and classes for scholars for whom instruction by such means is suitable.' In no case may fees be charged for attendance at continuation schools.

II

Such is the basis of the continuation school as the Act has laid it down. What can be built upon it? Will such schools prove the key to our present education problem? Can we expect of them all that we have seen to be necessary if we are to deal properly with adolescent life?

There are some people to whom any sort of gain, however great, is a subject of complaint because it is not greater. Already parents and teachers of this type have objected that the number of hours required each week is absurdly small. By general consent the best arrangement of them is eight hours per week for forty weeks in the year. Whether the eight should again be divided, so that the young person attends for two half-days each week instead of one full day, is a matter upon which opinion is more varied. Naturally the employer has something to say on that point. But in either event the pessimists deride the idea of achieving anything permanent, or really useful, in one day a week, or two half-days. They affirm that even to try is a mockery of education, and that therefore the sole result will be a wicked waste of time. The thing is sheer camouflage, they say indignantly—a cynical way of evading a claim which cannot be denied or refused outright. Perhaps in cases where the young persons are concerned in seasonal occupations, or live in sparsely populated areas, so that the only way of fulfilling the demands of the Act is to bring groups together for three months each year, continuation schools look to our critics a little less like playing at education. But even then there are 'whole-hoggers' who declare that this will never do. Organized Labour has, on the whole, welcomed the continuation schools, while protesting vehemently against works schools. One or two schemes, as drafted by

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Authorities, are, to say the least, apathetic, though they can hardly go so far as to declare, in defiance of the Act, that they will not provide continuation schools at all.

The West Ham Authority boldly says: 'We believe that no boy or girl can be considered as fully equipped for life who has not had the advantage of a suitable full-time education up to the age of sixteen at least. We therefore place, as the goal of the development of the stage of educational advance with which the present scheme is concerned, a system which shall provide *free full-time education for all to the age of sixteen*. . . . Seeing that our general aim is to develop full-time education for all to cover the period between the ages of fourteen and sixteen, it follows that these part-time Continuation Schools or Institutes should not be regarded as permanent institutions.'

Similarly, the scheme for Pembrokeshire says: 'It will be noted that the Authority proposes to raise the school-leaving age to fifteen, to encourage parents to allow their children to remain in school for full-time education until such time as they shall complete the statutory number of hours' attendance at school between fourteen and sixteen years, and eventually between fourteen and eighteen years of age, i.e. eventually the Authority will encourage full-time attendance up to sixteen years of age, in place of part-time attendance up to eighteen years of age.'

The Essex Committee hopes, 'by a liberal provision of facilities for full-time education up to sixteen years of age, to reduce considerably the demand for part-time day continuation classes,' believing that 'the habit of learning and the desire for further education are more likely to be developed by continuous full-time education up to sixteen than by a full-time course up to fourteen years followed by an interrupted part-time course spread over the years of adolescence.' At the same time it anticipates that the demand for full-time rather than part-time instruction will be less evident in rural than in urban areas.

The Cornwall Authority is prepared to provide free full-time education for boys and girls up to the age of sixteen 'wherever there arises a demand.'

In making these quotations we have passed from the pessi-

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mists to the idealists, and at first sight the latter captivate us far more than the former chill us. But a little quiet and steady thinking leads us to ask a cardinal question: Is it not clear, after all, that the part-time continuation school is actually the natural and true method of educating nine-tenths of our young people as we know them? Let it not be imagined that the idea is suggested by any devotion to class distinctions. I certainly do not subscribe to any modern version of the ancient Greek or Roman notion of freedom and equality—based upon the existence of a slave-class which was regarded so much as a matter of course that there was no need to take it into account when citizenship in a city-state or in the Empire was under discussion. My point is psychological, not social. I agree entirely with the passage in the West Ham scheme which says: 'Other forms of social advance are impossible or fruitless without an accompanying advance in education. The fact that so many West Ham boys and girls are expected to enter occupations that do not demand much skill of hand or brain, and which have little educational value in themselves, does not mean that these young people need less education than those of other classes; perhaps they need even more. At all events, we insist that where there is any conflict to-day between educational and industrial demands, it is the industrial that must give way—for the future benefit of industry itself, among other reasons.' Nevertheless, the combination of work with study, if the two are wisely related, and not merely parallel, is surely the most effective plan for those who have not the aptitude for the life of the student, but who ought not to be allowed to degenerate into mere manual drudges or commercial machines. Indeed, the principle is of equal application to both ends of the social scale: all that is necessary is to substitute the terms 'society butterflies' or 'undiluted sportsmen' for 'drudges' or 'machines.'

Sir Robert Blair, Chief Education Officer to the L.C.C., spoke with the wisdom of experience when, in a paper on continuation schools read before the British Association in 1919, he said: 'We may regard the part-time Compulsory Continuation School from fourteen to eighteen as the main

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instrument for educating the majority, and full-time—fourteen to sixteen—as the alternative for a minority. It is undoubtedly true that many pupils benefit largely by continued full-time education in efficient schools; and even for all it may be readily admitted that another two years of school discipline would help to give permanence to the results of ordinary school-life. But for the majority of boys and girls, under the present conditions of life, I believe that there is a better way—the way of the Day Continuation School.

'The majority of "young persons" will lead a wage-earning existence. The age of fourteen is critical. The physical changes are giving rise to new thoughts, new desires, new hopes. Boys and girls at that age are regarding school as a preliminary to something greater. Their eyes are looking through the school windows to what they regard as reality without; budding manhood and womanhood are building "castles in the air." To some school-life has become an unavoidable restraint, many who have not "shone" are dissatisfied with themselves, and for a large proportion at the top there has been, in general terms, too much marking time. For all these a further period of two years would be irksome and unsatisfactory. After nine years of school life a break is desirable, and education can, with great advantage, take on new forms. Herein lies our second chance.'

There is an even deeper psychological justification than that. People who are not going to be students by profession all their lives ought none the less to be cultured. Their culture should be inwoven with their occupation. The part-time continuation school allows for a natural beginning of that interpenetration. A clean break, whether at fourteen, at sixteen, or at eighteen, between school and work imperils this. How many boys and girls going from full-time secondary education into practical life carry with them more than a bare reminiscence of their books? How often the university man or woman, because of the sudden transition to absorbing tasks outside the academic world, straightway ceases to be a student of anything but technical or business matters. This is where the part-time continua-

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tion school holds the key to a truly educated manhood and womanhood.

Everything depends, of course, upon the prevailing conception of the function of the continuation school, and the way in which an Authority works it out. The aim of the school should be education, rather than instruction. It should develop the right outlook, rather than present a mass of facts. Its business ought to be to stimulate the creative powers of its pupils, and not to carry out a cramming process. Daily work, though apt to monopolize the young person's energies and interests while it is fresh to him, may be made highly educative if it is rightly related to his school studies.

The Birmingham Authority may be cited as typical in its conclusion that ' in the case of students from fourteen to sixteen years of age the education should not be technical or vocational: rather the main function of the Schools is that of building up good citizens, strong in character, mind and body, and the Authority has determined that the whole organization, whether of the more formal instruction given in class, or of the more recreative but not less valuable activities of the social side, shall serve this chief end. Its experience, however, in connexion with adolescent education in other institutions under its control, especially Evening Schools, has forced the Authority to the conclusion that to ensure a successful solution of this educational problem it will be necessary to start from the centre of interest of the student. It recognizes that what bulks most largely with the boy of fourteen years of age who has just left school is the fact that he is now a wage-earning unit of society, and he is inclined at this stage to regard everything else from its bearing upon his occupation and the activities centring round it. For this reason it is proposed to start from the centre of interest for the time being—his occupation—and to extend outwards therefrom.'

This policy, however, is a very different thing from making the curriculum of the school entirely vocational. It is not open to the criticism that education is being prostituted to industrialism. The strong opposition of working-people to works schools rests upon the fear that they will be used to

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fasten the shackles of ' production ' more firmly upon the next generation of manual workers. The *Memorandum on Continued Education* issued by the Labour Party Advisory Committee on Education puts the matter quite frankly :

' " Works schools " ought *not* to be recognized. . . . It will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to secure that the best teachers are appointed, or that, when appointed, they possess independence. It is certain that many employers will aim at using their control of the schools to turn continued education into a narrow and specialized training for the branch of industry in which they are interested, or to give a bias to such general studies as appear in the curriculum.' On the other hand, the *Memorandum* says that : ' It will probably be found that the best service which the schools can render is not to attempt to give technical training, but to lay the foundation of intelligence and general knowledge upon which special training can afterwards be based. But the appeal of general education will be strengthened, and the interests of young persons in it will be increased, in proportion as it is related to their own experience and to the practical work in which they are engaged. " Practical work," or " vocational training," are highly ambiguous terms. When used by educationists, they suggest an education which develops mind and character through contact with concrete objects, and through occupations in which boys and girls are naturally interested. When used by employers, they often imply that education ought to be directed primarily to producing efficient workers for industry. Vocational education in the latter sense should not be encouraged in the new continuation schools. In the former it should. The natural avenue to the minds of many young persons is through some kind of creative work. They learn most when they are unconscious of learning. Further, all the subjects mentioned above, with the possible exception of literature [the background of the whole curriculum should be history, geography, literature, and elementary science], can be presented in such a way that boys and girls see the connexion between the work done in school and the life of adult responsibilities upon which they are entering. . . . Approached in such a spirit, the possibilities of using

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particular industries and local conditions as the basis of a general education, which will be practical without being narrowly utilitarian, are almost infinite.' The passages of the *Memorandum* in which the Committee has amplified its ideas upon the subjects proper to a continuation school curriculum, and the method and spirit of teaching them, may be commended as among the finest to be found in literature dealing with continued education, and the influence of the *Memorandum* is traceable in a number of the schemes.

The few Authorities that incline to a technical or vocational curriculum in continuation schools certainly do appear to have been influenced unduly by the appeal of local industries. Each instance before the mind of the present writer is that of an Authority that for some years has had an arrangement with local firms for providing day continuation classes of a purely technical description to which junior employees were sent as a condition of employment. In fact, they have co-operated with the employers in giving the theoretical part of ordinary trade apprenticeship training. At one conference on continuation schools, called by a neutral body in an industrial town, the chief representative of the Authority appealed to the public to support the Education Committee's scheme on the ground that the premier place occupied by the town in a certain industry must be maintained by the due supply of technically educated boys to the engineering shops. Authorities of this kind appear to suppose that the willingness of employers to pay for the vocational equipment of their young people argues the success of the scheme from an educational and community point of view.

Over against this should be set the recommendation made in 1919 to the Federation of British Industries, probably the most powerful association of employers in the country, by its Education Committee in a *Report on Compulsory Continued Education*: 'The curriculum in the first place should be of a general educational nature, with due regard to the value of vocational illustrations as a means of obtaining the maximum interest of the students. There should be in the later stages a development of those subjects which bear most closely on the actual work of the young person in order to effect

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the balance between his craftsmanship and his theoretical knowledge and general outlook.'

Mr. W. J. Wray, in *A Day Continuation School at Work*, tells the story of the first real day continuation school in England—a works school at Bournville, started before the outbreak of war. 'The experience so far gained by day continuation school contact,' he says, 'is dead against vocational training as such. Such experience only emphasizes the more definite need of a cultivation of mentality, a general deepening of the personality, a wider opportunity for thought capacity to develop.'

Generally speaking, however, the formula prevalent in the schemes for continuation schools is 'non-vocational curriculum till the age of sixteen at least: vocational bias (whether commercial or technical) from sixteen to eighteen.' The curricula are singularly alike. English is the common basis. But English as it is being taught to-day, and as it may be taught in the future, has a value and a richness of possibilities that very few people who are not teachers have yet recognized. An examination of the curricula in a group of twenty-five representative schemes shows that twenty Authorities definitely propose to give a general or non-vocational education for the two years from fourteen to sixteen. One Authority includes also a certain proportion of vocational subjects during this period. One Authority gives no details of its proposed curriculum, but clearly a non-vocational education is intended; one Authority gives a long list of trade subjects affecting its area, but is silent on the question of a general education; two Authorities make no proposals, apparently owing to the difficulties in the way of establishing continuation schools; and one Authority does not mention continuation schools at all. English and history are invariably included in a general curriculum, while geography, civics, mathematics, and science are included in most cases. Domestic, manual, and physical training appear in all the curricula. Only a few Authorities include economics, modern languages, art and music, the last-named, for some inexplicable reason, being generally labelled 'for girls.'

The number of subjects is necessarily limited when the

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hours of teaching are so few. Generally speaking, the schemes follow fairly closely the suggestions of the Board of Education. Mr. Arthur Greenwood, in his essay on continuation schools in *The New Education*, remarks that the curriculum proposed by the L.C.C. suggests continuation of elementary teaching. He goes on to make the suggestion that education should be divided by Authorities into elementary up to twelve years of age, and secondary from twelve to sixteen or eighteen, the curriculum for the second period being treated as a whole. He bases this on the argument that continuation schools are really secondary.* This would mean a real sequence throughout the last two years of *whole-time* education, and the two (or four) of part-time *continued* education. It would involve a broadening of the curriculum for children over twelve in elementary schools. But really the Act suggests this in its insistence on advanced education for the older or more intelligent children in elementary schools, and the Board of Education circular on *The Staffing of Continuation Schools* says that the Board 'think that continuation schools should be regarded from this point of view as a form of part-time secondary education.' The point of view in question is that of the status and salaries of teachers. But the sentence gives support to Mr. Greenwood's proposition, as also does the fact that it is Part II Authorities that are responsible for the establishment of continuation schools. There is no doubt that the schemes intend the teaching to be secondary in quality, and the curricula suggested, whether well chosen for this purpose or not, are both open to modification and intended to be treated in a liberal spirit by the teacher.

The Pembroke scheme may be quoted in this connexion: 'The term "Primary" will in future be substituted for "Elementary" in the designation of all schools below Central and Secondary Schools. . . . The scope of work done in Primary and Central Schools must inevitably widen, and there must be an approximation between the general education given in the lower forms of Secondary Schools

* N.B.—This point is not quite the same as that discussed on pp. 15–17 above, though there is a logical relation between the two.

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and that given in Central Schools, so that instead of Elementary, Central and Continuative, and Secondary Education, the broad division will be Preparatory and Secondary Education.' The York scheme reiterates the same principle throughout.

The Birmingham Authority takes a very sound position when it says that ' the real test of the inclusion of a subject in the curriculum of the schools will be how far it develops the moral and physical life and stimulates the imagination and the intellectual activity of the students.' To this may be added a phrase from the West Ham scheme: ' It will not be of much use to increase continuously the amount of education in life unless at the same time we increase continuously the amount of life in education.' After all, what is taught matters almost less than how it is taught. This is not merely admitted, but urged, in all the schemes that treat continuation schools thoroughly.

The reader may be referred to the above-mentioned Labour Party *Memorandum* and to chapters in *A Day Continuation School at Work* for very illuminating discussions of this point, based upon experience both of life and of continuation teaching.

III

The corporate and social life of the school is supremely important. Many schemes do not hesitate to say that what is done outside actual school hours, under the power given by Section 17, is at least as valuable as the work accomplished during the day. Some go so far as to say that it may have an even greater educational influence. In this they have the backing of the Board. The whole programme must be a unity. Perhaps this comes out less clearly in the Act because Section 17, with its express purpose of giving Authorities power to ' supplement and reinforce the instruction and social and physical training provided by the public system of education by any means open to them,' does not specifically mention continuation schools. This, of course, is merely because the Act refers to Part II and Part III Authorities—i.e. to every grade of education provided in

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accordance with law. Continuation schools share in all the privileges of elementary and secondary schools under Section 17. The schemes recognize in all cases that what may be advantageous in connexion with elementary and secondary school life is nothing less than vital for continuation schools. There is the same *duty* of medical inspection and *power* of medical treatment. School camps, baths, and playing-fields are equally proper to continuation schools. But in 'other facilities for social and physical training in the day or evening' is the great charter of social and corporate school-life for the young person.

Mr. Spurley Hey states the position very clearly and forcibly: the schools, he says, 'should form both educational and social centres for the adolescent life of the city, should provide throughout the day complete educational facilities, and throughout the evening full opportunity for social and recreative development. Wherever it is possible to obtain sufficiently commodious premises, it is desirable that different groups of day continuation students should find their educational facilities and their social recreation in the same institution. In this connexion regard must be taken of the work already carried on by certain voluntary agencies by means of clubs and otherwise.

'The activities of each institution should cover so wide a field that the young persons who are called upon to attend during the day for work of a purely educational character may find also during their leisure hours better provision for social and recreative work than in any other institution.'

'The school ought really to become the social club of the scholars,' says the Wallasey Authority, while the Labour Party *Memorandum* urges that 'the influence of the corporate life of the schools ought to be of even greater importance than the character of the subjects taught in them, and too great pains cannot be taken to develop it. They should be made centres of associated effort, to which boys and girls naturally turn for recreation and social intercourse, and which maintain a connexion with former pupils when they have passed the age of compulsory attendance. If they are to attain this object they must find time, *outside*

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the regular curriculum, both for games and recreation, and for educational work of an informal character. . . . What should be aimed at is to place the school discipline and the management of school clubs and societies in the hands of the scholars themselves. It is only so far as boys and girls feel that they are partners in a common enterprise that they will welcome continuation education, instead of merely submitting to it. Nor must it be forgotten that, if the school is to be a genuine preparation for the life of intelligent citizenship, boys and girls must learn to carry responsibilities and to acquire habits of unselfish co-operation while they are still at school.'

An excellent comment upon this is supplied by the Middlesex Authority, which, after urging that co-operation should be secured from religious institutions, labour institutions, and all other bodies interested in the welfare of the adolescent, in order that the fullest use may be made of the powers given by Section 17, goes on to say: 'The Committee recognize the enormous value of all the forms of activity suggested in this section, and will do all in their power to assist the schools in developing any social, physical, or recreative activities which they may determine to undertake. . . . It is advisable that the pupils should determine their own recreative subjects; the Committee will, at any rate, at the beginning and experimentally, be prepared to adopt almost any suggestion that has the joint approval of staff and pupils.'

Thus the evening becomes more important than ever in the life of the adolescent. The kind of amusement that he or she may find in the varied activities at the new 'club' may be the finest possible counter-attraction to the futilities of the promenade or the pictures. Voluntary organizations will be seen at their best, will have their greatest chance, and will render their most valuable service, if they come in as parts of one common social activity. In Bradford all the juvenile welfare organizations are linked together in the Federation of Young People's Societies, on the executive of which the Education Committee is represented, and of which the Director of Education is Honorary Secretary. This Federation, says the Bradford scheme, 'will, it is thought,

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be able to work in conjunction with the day continuation schools. The Committee will regard favourably requests from any of the Federated Societies for the use of the Day Continuation School Buildings in the evenings.'

There is also far more likelihood that young people will wish to attend classes in the evening under the new regime than under the old. Their appetite will be whetted in the day for non-vocational studies that will add pleasure to the evening. Mr. W. A. Cook, Educational Supervisor to Messrs. Harrods, recently stated that in his experience more evening school work was a natural corollary of the day continuation schools. The trouble before was that if young people went to evening classes at all, it was generally for technical subjects and under more or less economic pressure. As a result they did not care to spend the rest of their scanty leisure on liberal studies or the cultivation of hobbies and pursuits that have an educational interest. Now a place is definitely made in their lives for literature, art, music, and a dozen other 'subjects' which speedily become absorbing avocations. Several Authorities express this hope, and many are wise enough to provide special rooms for quiet reading.

All this bears upon the reluctance of the adolescent, just released from full-time elementary education, to 'go back to school' again. Doubtless that reluctance will be diminished if the elementary schools, under the new conditions, create not repugnance, but real loyalty. The plain lesson for all concerned is that the school must, both by day and in the evening, be made attractive to the pupil. The young person is subject to penalties under the Act if he does not fulfil his obligations to attend for the prescribed hours during the day, but these will never compel him as certainly as a strong social and corporate life will attract him. Time is needed for this—the evening time. And every auxiliary influence must be utilized. A new type of buildings will be needed, for you could not make an effective club out of the average elementary or secondary school, even were the premises available. Even names are important. The Kent Authority has taken a wise decision on these matters: 'In the opinion of the Committee, the title "Day Con-

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tinuation Schools" connotes two erroneous ideas: one, that the instruction is a mere "continuation" of that received in the elementary school, and the other that it is an institution similar in kind to the elementary school. The title given to these institutions should emphasize the difference in status of the young persons who attend them from that of the child of the elementary school, and it should connect the institution with the activities of manhood rather than those of childhood.' 'Junior Institute' is the name chosen by the Kent Authority.

Whatever the name, 'the note of continued education,' says the Labour Party *Memorandum*, 'should be that of the college, not of the school. . . . Such as it is, it is to be, for the present, the secondary school and university of the vast majority of working-class children. It must be held in buildings which carry these suggestions with them.'

CHAPTER IV

THE HOPE OF A NEW DEMOCRACY

'ALMOST the whole youth of the nation will pass, at the most plastic period of their development, through the new continuation schools. They will enter them little more than children: they will leave them, ultimately, as young men and young women. In the interval their character and intelligence will have received a bias which must often be decisive. Upon the quality of the schools, their organization and curriculum, the type of teachers whom they employ, the character of the education which they offer, their spirit and atmosphere, will depend not only the physical and intellectual development of the next generation, but their outlook upon life, their conception of society, and their capacity for citizenship. For the Labour Movement the question of the principles which are to guide the development of continued education is a vital one. The young men and women of the future will be very largely what the new continuation schools make them. Wisely directed,

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continued education may become the greatest training-ground of democracy which the world has seen.' With such a vision before it, we cannot wonder if the Labour Party goes on to utter a grave warning against short-sighted subordination to economic interests and 'using the school to reinforce the mechanical discipline of the factory.' But it is with the positive point that we are concerned here. It is hardly too much to say that continuation schools will have failed if, while constraining the adolescent to be a student from fourteen to eighteen, they do not ensure his remaining a student for the rest of his life.

By this no dull grinding of textbooks in a pathetic middle-age is meant. Dr. Cranage, in *Cambridge Essays on Adult Education*, quotes Darwin's description of the way in which he lost his previous taste for art, music, and poetry after he had passed young manhood, and cites this as an argument for adult education, remarking that for lack of it 'many a man at forty is less effective, less sympathetic, less interesting than he was at twenty.' Adult education may proceed by way of handicraft, music, or general reading, as well as of tutorial classes, extension lectures, or study circles. What really matters is that the man should be responsive to his world, aware—and master—of inner resources, desirous of serving other people in a variety of ways, and equipped to do so. It is the business of the continuation school to awaken at least an appetite for a life that will disprove Wordsworth's line, 'Shades of the prison house begin to close upon the growing boy.'

The Act makes little direct reference to adult education. But it speaks of a national system of education *for all persons*, and makes it 'the duty of the Council of every county and county borough to contribute thereto by providing for the progressive development and comprehensive organization of education in respect of their area.' Councils are given power to set up Joint Committees to which they may delegate 'any powers or duties of the Councils.' They may also, under the Act, establish federations of Councils to perform 'any educational or administrative functions.' If these provisions are held to be defined in their application by the preoccupation of the Act with children and young

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persons, it may be observed that 'persons over the age of eighteen attending educational institutions' are included among those who should benefit by the provisions of Section 17.

The Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction felt so sure of this as to recommend that each Authority should be required to present a separate scheme showing its provision for adult education, in addition to the scheme containing its proposals for children and adolescents. In its *Final Report* it also urged that Local Education Authorities should be required to form Joint Adult Education Committees, two or more Authorities combining for this purpose with the universities and voluntary educational bodies in their areas. The principle of all this has been recognized by the Board of Education in providing for the representation of Local Education Authorities in its newly-created permanent committee for the promotion and co-ordination of liberal education among adults.

The simple logic of the situation almost compelled this. Invariably the fruit of real education is the demand for more education. It would be fatal to cut off the supply when the adolescent is, at eighteen, on the threshold of manhood or womanhood.

Then, too, the Authorities were already doing a great deal in the direction at least of encouraging adult education. Frequently they assisted tutorial classes and university extension courses by a grant in aid and by the loan of suitable premises. In many cases they tried, like the L.C.C., to establish non-vocational evening institutes for young men and women. The last-named experiment was only a qualified success, and in fact the L.C.C. frankly admits, in its scheme under the Act, that 'it is becoming increasingly apparent that even the simplest type of free institute has not as yet succeeded in reaching to any considerable extent the class that needs education most.' The newest experiment of the L.C.C. in opening five institutes which are practically social clubs with an educational bias is clearly made possible only by Section 17 of the Act. The reason for this is partly that only people who have independently an unusually strong thirst for knowledge, or a vocational

motive, will turn to an institution organized and governed *for* them and not *by* them; and even such people are best recruited and organized on the basis of common general interests and free voluntary association—perhaps in neither case of an educational kind at the outset. But the more fundamental reason is that, if you begin a national system of adult education with adults themselves, you begin far too late. Here again, for the majority of the population, the continuation school is the key to our educational programme.

No Authority appears to have submitted a scheme dealing with adult education alone. Some Authorities treat the whole subject cursorily, either in one general sentence of the pious platitude order, or in a brief paragraph stating that they have assisted the Workers' Educational Association or the University Extension Committee, and propose to increase the amount of their support. Most of them, however, regard the matter as really important, and show how they intend to provide facilities for various activities which the Sunderland Authority tabulates thus:

(1) University Extension Lectures.
(2) Tutorial Classes under the supervision of a University or University College.
(3) Other classes established by organizations interested in the promotion of liberal studies.

The Birmingham scheme says that 'the new conditions in industry, allowing for greater leisure to workers, permit the Authority to anticipate that it will be possible to bring before a much larger number of the population the delights of literature, art, and music, the lessons of history, the interest of science, and the problems of citizenship.'

A few, like the Sunderland Authority, squarely base their policy upon co-operation with voluntary agencies. After referring to Tutorial Classes and the Educational Handwork Association, the scheme says: 'The Committee intend to encourage in every way any voluntary organization interested in the promotion of liberal studies. The Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the Adult School and Co-operative Society provide some form of further education for students in this area, and it is the desire of the Committee to work in complete

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harmony with these institutions, so that there shall be no competition or wasteful expenditure.' The practice, on the part of Authorities, of paying teachers, lecturers, or even 'resident' tutors, whose services are put at the disposal of voluntary social and educational institutions, and as part of the programme of those institutions, is increasing. The Director of Education to the County Durham Authority recommends his Higher Education Committee to appoint a minor Sub-committee to be known as the 'Adult Education Sub-committee,' charged with the special duty of promoting adult education throughout the county area, and suggests that it might be authorized to co-opt a limited number of representatives of other bodies engaged in the organization of adult education within the county area. The Northumberland Authority has taken definite action on similar lines. The Bradford scheme says that 'institutions which provide further education in the area will continue to receive aid in the form of the appointment of representatives on their committees, and in the form of grants for approved specified purposes.' Bradford has a federation of literary, scientific, musical, and art societies to which this refers, and the scheme further says that 'inquiries are also being made of various associations of men and women in the city with a view to assisting them in the provision of, or to giving them facilities for, (1) lectures—either single or in courses—upon literary, historical, geographical, scientific, social, or economic subjects; (2) study circles and home reading; (3) good and suitable music and art; (4) lantern demonstrations; (5) reading of plays or other literary works; (6) visits to places of interest; (7) courses in gymnastics and folk-dancing.'

These, of course, are only typical instances, cited as illustrations, and not necessarily as unique.

The period since the War has witnessed a rapid development in the adult education movement, and Authorities in general have been alert to their opportunities or have responded to pressure. Now, under the Act, it is their *duty* to lay the foundations of adult education, consciously, wisely, and purposively. The lack of continued education during adolescence has probably done more than anything

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else to hinder the progress of work at a later stage. Mr. W. G. Constable, writing from the standpoint of a tutor, on 'The Tutorial Class Movement' in *Cambridge Essays on Adult Education*, dwells upon this point, and hails the continuation school as a means of providing the necessary bridge between elementary and adult education. We have already referred to the frequent loss, during adolescence, of the student habit, as more serious even than the forgetting of facts. These things ought now to be obviated.

There is a fine optimism about continuation-school work—a forward look. Just as the elementary teacher feels that the prospect of continuation school makes it worth while for him to do more thorough work with his boys and girls, so the continuation school teacher looks beyond the age limit of sixteen or eighteen, and finds compensation for the fewness of hours per week during which he can count upon his pupils. He is encouraged, too, to make the most of those priceless, uncovenanted evening hours when the young persons under his care come to school for the various purposes of recreation and study because they are keen, not because they are compelled. The Authorities do not hesitate to set a high ideal before their teachers—an ideal thus expressed in the West Ham scheme: 'Each school will be asked to aim at turning out live men and women with a sense of the wonder and interest of the world in which they live, and the desire to continue their own education in knowledge and citizenship.'

The present writer has developed, in another volume in this series, the argument that adult education is different from any type of education that may precede it because it involves the interaction of knowledge and experience, as both mature. This process often fails, in point of fact, to take place. As has been pointed out above, the adolescent or young man, plunged from full-time school or college life into the whirl of ordinary affairs, often fails to assimilate the two, because of absorption in the new experience, and speedily loses most of his former knowledge; what is worse, he tends to lose his balanced way of looking at things, his perspective, his wide horizons. But it may, on the other hand, prove that separation from things concrete during so many years of his early life leaves him with a mentality such

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that it takes years for him to become ordinarily practical. That is why the combination of the two, during adolescence, by means of the continuation school system, may—indeed, one might confidently say *must*—have such a high value in education, interpreted as preparation for life. Having touched upon this aspect of things already, I need not labour it here. But as we look at the whole situation from the adult education point of view, we see again what a unique and long-needed contribution to individual and national progress continuation schools will make.

CHAPTER V

THE OPPORTUNITY OF THE TEACHER

THE Act tends to unify the whole teaching service throughout the country. This is an even greater step forward than that of establishing the principle, as the *Suggestions for Schemes* says, that all forms of education shall be considered as parts of a single whole. Between elementary, technical, and secondary teachers there has all too often been a great gulf fixed. This was not a question of vulgar class-distinction. The work demanded of the three groups has appeared so different as almost to lie in different spheres. The connexion between the things to be taught by them was apt to seem purely formal. Even the scope and nature of the training provided for the teachers was so distinct as to be almost opposed. Save for the few children who passed from elementary schools to secondary, and the entry at technical schools of young people who had left elementary schools three or four years earlier, the pupils were frequently regarded as belonging to sets quite different from one another. Neither teachers nor taught had much in common beyond their vocation on the one hand, and their need of knowledge on the other.

Now standards are heightened and the outlook broadened throughout the whole field. Something much more like a republic of learning is set forward as the ideal. The pupil has a much more clear prospect of passing from one end of the

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great highway to the other in a natural and normal fashion. Whether he actually does so or not, the toll-bars are down, and the road has been made in all its parts broad and smooth. This involves far more real community of spirit, purpose, and function between those older travellers, the teachers, than before. Once again, the spirit and aim of continuation teaching, with its liberal atmosphere and practical direction, proves a prominent agent in securing this desired consummation.

Teachers in elementary schools have a new, or at least a greatly enlarged, opportunity. The range of work is wider, and at the same time more concentration becomes possible. The teacher can be given greater choice of subjects and freedom in method without the fear that what is not got in now will be missed altogether. When the curriculum has been determined in accordance with local circumstances and opinion, it can be carried out more thoroughly and hopefully because of the certainty that it will be duly followed up at a later period of the child's school life. The acceptance as an axiom for continuation schools that classes must be small, equipment adequate, the qualifications and training of the teacher broad, his remuneration worthy, the curriculum humane, and the methods free almost to the point of informality, must inevitably influence deeply the policy of Authorities for elementary schools. The one stage passes so easily and naturally into the other that degrees of development cannot harden into apparent differences of type. The schemes bear witness to this in what they propose as to diminishing the size of classes in elementary schools, though the ideal may still be some way ahead. In the other points indicated above there is also an advance that amounts to reform. What elementary teachers have so long sought appears now to be in sight.

For the continuation schools a fresh force of teachers must needs be recruited, since the schools meet during the daytime, and the War has so diminished the supply of elementary and secondary teachers, especially on the men's side, that practically none of these can be spared for continuation school work. It is a good thing for all concerned that the terms of the Act allow no chance of any attempt to staff the

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continuation schools by adding to the long day's work of the elementary or secondary teacher so taxing a task at night. Education in England will ever owe to such teachers an incalculable debt for the way in which they have literally kept evening classes going, out of sheer enthusiasm for teaching, and not merely because they could not afford to miss any source of addition to their often scandalously bad pay: they have done fine work, and will doubtless continue to do it, in the evening. But to attain the standard set for the new schools demands, as these teachers would be the first to assert, the full freshness and vigour of men and women upon whose time and strength continuation teaching has sole claim. For the hours in class do not by any means exhaust the demands upon the teacher in a continuation school.

The difficulty of obtaining buildings, under present conditions of cost and scarcity of material, and that of finding the requisite number of suitable teachers, have proved the supreme hindrances to the appointment of a day for the enforcement of the continuation school sections of the Act throughout the country. Many Authorities still do not see how they are to overcome these obstacles, which, far more than any general unwillingness to apply the Act, are responsible for the delay that is taking place. But it is not alone the impossibility of drafting teachers from the elementary and secondary schools, or the pressure of the immediate need, that has influenced the Board and the Authorities in making their suggestions as to sources from which the required teachers may be drawn. The psychology of the case demands very special consideration. Qualifications for this task go beyond those of academic training and teaching experience, though these two gain rather than lose in importance for this purpose. The Board of Education, in its wise and sympathetic circular on *The Staffing of Continuation Schools*, points out that 'the majority of continuation-school pupils will in many respects differ from both elementary and secondary school pupils; from elementary school pupils in age and interests; from secondary school pupils in educational aspirations; from both in the limited number of hours which they can devote to study,

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and in having already entered upon the responsibilities o wage-earners, and acquired the consciousness of person a independence which accompanies wage-earning. Much in their school life will inevitably tend to be tried by the standard of the workshop, the office, or the farm. The younger pupils will be children in years, but any system, whether of instruction or of discipline, which lays undue stress upon this fact will be doomed to failure.' Dealing in the same circular with the possible contribution of the universities to the provision of teachers, the Board remarks : ' The instruction, however modest its standard, must be given out of an ample store of knowledge, and the mental stimulus, however general, can only be imparted by those who have themselves come into touch with the best that has been discovered or dreamed of by explorer or sage. And, secondly, the appointed guides of adolescence must themselves be mature ; still young, no doubt, in sympathies and ardour, but with some tempering of experience, some ripening of character and acquired habit of independent judgment, and some familiarity with the problems of life as they present themselves from other angles than that of the teacher.' It then goes on to say that ' the elements which the ordinary university life cannot supply, and, in particular, some acquaintance with those hard economic facts from which students in universities may be more secluded than the continuation school pupils themselves, must be sought elsewhere.'

It is from this point of view that the Board suggests looking for teachers among ' well-educated persons, primarily engaged in industry or commerce, who have been accustomed to devote part of their spare time to teaching in evening schools, and have often proved most successful teachers,' club-workers, leaders of Boy Scouts or Girl Guides, Workers' Educational Association students, ex-soldiers (both officers and men, of course), and women displaced from temporary employment in Government offices, or engaged hitherto in welfare work. None the less, the Board expects the main ultimate supply to come from among people who have begun by regarding teaching as their chosen career. If that be the case, the method of training continuation teachers will

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need special care, as the Board implies in the passage quoted above.

The schemes accept and expand this view of recruiting.

Thus the West Sussex Authority, after referring to the experience gained in Polytechnic and Evening Schools and Institutes and in social clubs for older boys and girls, says: 'The Authority realizes that it will be necessary to draw on all these sources of experience, and to bring into the profession and to train in colleges men and women who will represent, as a corps, first-hand knowledge of, and interest in, all the typical aspects of the social and industrial life of the nation.'

Under the Act, Authorities are made responsible for the training, as well as the supply, of teachers, though both functions are to be carried out on a basis of co-operation between the Authorities concerned. Some Authorities are established amidst dense population, and others amidst sparse; some enjoy a comparatively rich revenue from a comparatively low education rate, while others suffer from the opposite financial condition. From the teacher's standpoint what matters is the extent and standard of the facilities that result. It is only fair to say that, while many Authorities estimate in quite detailed figures the number of school places that they will have to provide in accordance with the Act, and a considerable proportion estimate also the number of additional teachers that they will need, and the consequent increase in cost to the rate-payers, very few set out to calculate and plan for the number of training places that will be necessary. This may be because such estimates cannot be reached except upon the basis of definite co-operative schemes between definite pairs or groups of Authorities combining for this one specific purpose of supplying and training teachers (the alternative being a scheme for the whole country prepared, and largely carried through, by the Government itself); but the general schemes presented under the requirements of the whole Act are necessarily those of separate and independent Authorities.

The same ideals and standards of training, however, characterize all the schemes, whether emanating from Authorities that have training colleges of their own, or from those that must perforce rely upon the facilities offered by

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the larger and richer ones. The exception is that some schemes—naturally, for the most part, those of Authorities whose areas are chiefly rural—are far too much inclined to retain the discredited system of pupil teacherships, or to perpetuate the student teacher system, which at best is not a satisfactory substitute for a complete secondary and university course. It is undesirable that any prospective teachers should content themselves with such an entry into the profession. Failure to insist upon adequate training is to handicap not only the individual teacher, but the whole growing generation. The very closeness with which the stages in the education of a child are now related results in his being all the more heavily handicapped if he receives inadequate teaching at any stage. The Labour Party asserts without hesitation that teachers in continuation schools ought normally to have passed through a university or training college. The Board's circular on *The Staffing of Continuation Schools* explicitly says that the academic teachers should as a rule be graduates, and generally speaking the schemes follow a similar line. This strengthens the argument for giving to all teachers a more thorough preparation for taking their share in a national system of education than some schemes suggest with regard to their elementary teachers.

Coming more particularly to continuation teachers, it is understood that the Board, while not desiring to be unduly rigid, especially at the outset, when teachers are difficult to get, regards it as desirable that every such teacher should possess a certificate which will not be granted for less than one year's training; and the Labour Party's *Memorandum*, referring to the appointment of persons who, while otherwise eminently suitable, have not hitherto been professional teachers, urges that they should be required either before, or in some cases after, appointment to obtain professional qualifications. The obverse of this is equally important—namely, that professional teachers, whether elementary or secondary, who transfer to continuation schools should take some form of training that will put them in possession of points of view other than that of the teacher. The observations of the Board in this connexion are most valuable:

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'In planning their training courses the universities must come out into the market-place, and realize the essential need for introducing their student teachers into something of the industrial and commercial environment in which their lives will be spent. The teachers of the people must know how the people do their work; they must know the habits of their homes, and what kind of recreation they prefer in their moments of leisure. Fortunately there are doors to this knowledge in the now numerous University Settlements, and the opportunities which these offer by means of Clubs, Juvenile Employment Committees, and other activities for establishing a contact with the facts which condition the lives of workers. Some such experience as life in a settlement furnishes, and, if possible, also some period of occupation under, or observation of, the actual conditions of a factory or office, should be an integral part of every training course, and should be looked upon as no less important than the practice in class teaching, important as this is, or than the more theoretical study of pedagogic science and method.' It might be added that this experience may be gained in connexion with any of the non-residential educational settlements which are now springing up in so many parts of the country.

The schemes have many practical suggestions in this direction, such as the following, quoted from the Birmingham Authority:

'The scheme which has been drawn up in conjunction with the Authorities of the University of Birmingham provides a special full-time course of instruction, normally covering a period of twelve months, for men and women of University or other advanced education who have had little or no teaching experience, and for persons of good general education who are, or have been, engaged in industry or commerce. In addition to attendance at classes and lectures, the course includes attendance at selected schools for observation and teaching practice, as well as such training in social and industrial conditions as seems requisite for intending teachers of continuation schools.'

In addition, many schemes intimate that facilities will be afforded to teachers for participation in brief refresher

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courses either in connexion with universities and training colleges, or specially arranged by the Authorities themselves; for attendance at Summer Schools; for short visits to foreign countries, in order to study languages or other subjects of which no finished knowledge can be acquired merely from books; and for similar purposes. By no means unimportant, from this point of view, is the suggestion in several schemes that teachers should visit systematically schools other than their own, so that they may profit by observation of the circumstances and methods of other teachers; this would, of course, necessitate special leave of absence for the teacher, and in the case of a large Authority it might require an addition to staff. But the Authorities that propose to give this are enabling their teachers to enjoy one of the greatest advantages that any teacher can desire, and yet the one advantage for which the average teacher can never even hope.

The task of the continuation teacher is a varied and far-reaching one. Most schemes limit the actual hours during which any teacher shall give formal instruction to something between twenty and twenty-four each week. Lest those unfamiliar with the practical work of teaching, or even those teachers who in other types of school have to put in far more hours of class-teaching every week, should regard this as open to criticism on the ground that it does not represent a full meed of daily service, it is perhaps permissible to draw the analogy suggested by the distinction between the 'powers' and the 'duties' of an Authority. The emphasis in practically all that has been said or written about continuation school teachers, so far as the present writer has been able to discover, is wholly upon personal relationships with the pupil. This demands the constant devotion of a keen, strong, sensible, and cultured personality to a service that has no defined limits.

To begin with ordinary teaching functions: it is not generally realized that a continuation school in an ordinary town will consist of anything up to three thousand pupils. Suppose there are four hundred places. There will then be at least five sets of four hundred pupils each using the buildings and coming to the same group of teachers every

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week. The teacher sees each pupil only on one day, or perhaps on two half-days, each week, unless he sees him outside class hours; and it must be remembered that attendance at any other time is, on the part of the pupil, entirely voluntary, so that it is safe to calculate that a considerable number of the pupils will be accessible to the teacher only during those meagre class hours. Though Authorities in no case propose classes of more than forty in number, and in many cases speak of thirty, or even, for such subjects as involve laboratory or workshop instruction, twenty or fifteen, each teacher will have from seventy-five to two hundred pupils to deal with every week, and may meet these for only one, or at the most two, hours a week each. The demand for teaching based upon individual knowledge and personal relationships is in any case one that it requires a great deal of nervous and mental energy to fulfil. Under such conditions it will constitute a heavy drain upon the teacher's resources. The Sunderland Authority hopes to deal with this in some measure by arranging that each pupil shall have among the teachers one who acts as his 'tutor,' in the university sense. Some Authorities realize the difficulty so acutely, but at the same time believe in the personal relationship basis so firmly, that they are considering the possibility of moving up the teacher with a group of scholars from the elementary or central school to the continuation school, the teacher going back to begin again with a new group when he has seen that one safely through the two (or four) years of the continuation course.

Plainly, however, the ideal is impossible unless the teacher takes a very full part in the social, athletic, and specifically educational activities that will be going on in the school premises during the evening. There the pupils belonging to all the five different sets will meet and mingle, and the teacher will have his chance of following up the points of contact made in more official ways during class hours.

But this, again, is not all. If the teacher is to gain that knowledge of the home life and conditions of his pupils which was described above as so necessary, he must get out among them. He will need time to visit them, and to cultivate

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the friendship of parents and employers or overlookers. He will be one of the most important factors in providing for his pupils the advice upon employment that is so invaluable a proposal of the Act and of the schemes. Therefore he must know at first hand something of local industrial conditions and of the details of various occupations. He will have to give time to consultations with colleagues as to the recommendations to be made in the case of individual pupils.

Then, too, if he is to impart the spirit of the complete citizen, he must take his own share in public affairs, both national and local. One of the most crippling things in the life of the average teacher has been the refusal to him of real status in the social life of the locality. Teachers have been regarded as in a kind of limbo between manual workers, or shopkeepers, and professional people. As a result they have generally not been given the opportunity of meeting the leading people (of whatever group) in their own locality. To the cramping influence of long hours and a very formal curriculum has been added this practical exclusion from the main stream of ideas in their neighbourhood. How could they be expected to know much of 'points of view' other than that of the teacher'? Both leisure and opportunity must be given them to be like Kipling's Kim, who was called 'Little friend of all the world.' If that is made possible they may be, as they ought to be, a supreme force for the development of a true democracy, and the doing away of all class snobberies and antagonisms—on both sides.

The teacher, says the Board of Education, who does not read becomes insignificant. Equally the teacher who does not research, in some way or another, however simple, becomes a gramophone, though perhaps a very perfect and pleasant one. Fortunately, the Act provides against this danger in Section 23: 'With a view to promoting the efficiency of teaching and advanced study, a Local Education Authority for the purposes of Part II of the Education Act 1902 may aid teachers and students to carry on any investigation for the advancement of learning or research in or in connexion with an educational institution, and with that

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object may aid educational institutions.' Most of the schemes interpret their powers with a wise liberality, though for the most part they actually commit themselves to little more than the phrases of the Act itself. The Essex Authority is very practical: 'With a view to making the teaching more effective, the Committee have agreed to set aside a sum of money for the encouragement of elementary school teachers who conduct suitable educational experiments in their schools. It is hoped that this will lead to investigations of such subjects as the most suitable tests for the classification of pupils, the training of backward pupils, mental retardation and precocity, the prevention of the recurrence of mistakes, the best arrangement of subjects in the curriculum, and others which are well known and can be investigated within the limits of the classroom.' Some Authorities go even further. The following, taken from the Sunderland scheme, is an instance: 'The heads of departments and other lecturers of the local college are now granted six months' leave of absence every seven years to enable them to proceed uninterruptedly with any investigation they may have in hand, or to make themselves familiar with the most recent technical processes and methods, so as to keep their teaching qualifications thoroughly up-to-date.' The York Authority intimates that in suitable cases it is prepared to continue scholarships, and also to assist students to visit other countries for this purpose.

Other duties of the continuation teacher will include serving on the numerous advisory committees which most Authorities are setting up for various purposes relating to the activities or the administration of the schools. Some may be called upon to serve on the Authority itself, for several Authorities have in their constitutions provision for the direct election upon them of members representing teachers' societies.

All this means that the best men and women in the country must be won for this task, that they must be well trained and set free to make their full contribution to this great communal enterprise, and that they must be paid salaries which will enable them to devote themselves to their

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vocation without the constant harassing care of wondering how to make ends meet, or the fatal starvation of thought and imagination that results if they cannot afford at least a modest indulgence in books, music, the drama, decent holidays and occasional travel—if, in short, they are denied what every ordinary person regards as the ordinary necessities of living. And it may be well to add that these pages are written by one who neither is nor has been a teacher, but who rejoices that the ideals thus expressed find such abundant support in all the schemes that emanate from progressive Authorities.

When you have your teacher, he is evidently far from being 'in for a soft job.' He is in for one that may well captivate the finest of the men and women who are now wondering what England has to offer in the way of a career at all comparable with the great experiences of war-time, yet constructive in its aim and compelling in its ideals. In the *Notes on Teaching in Continuation Schools as a Career*, issued by the Board of Education, occurs the following paragraph:

'Work in continuation schools will not be easier than work in any other schools. But it will be exceptionally interesting. The pupils will be full of vitality. They will come from the workshop, or office, or farm, in which they are having their first taste of the practical side of things, ready to learn anything that bears upon their new occupations, ready in many cases to use opportunities for serious and intelligent study, ready in almost all cases for the games, the club, the music, dancing, and play-acting, and all the social activities of which the continuation school will be the centre.' That is a fascinating picture. And it means that the teachers of to-day may create that new world of to-morrow for which all the earth is waiting.

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CHAPTER VI

THE PARENT'S PART

EVERYBODY has a part to play in the carrying out of the Fisher Act, which recognizes the place that the parent has, not only in deciding, or helping to decide, in detailed situations affecting the individual child, controversial questions such as those connected with the form of religious teaching (if any) that the child shall receive, but in determining how the whole scheme for the locality shall be shaped. This is probably the first time that Authorities have been required by Act of Parliament to ascertain and consider the views of 'parents or other persons or bodies of persons interested' before submitting for Government approval their schemes under that Act. The parent has too frequently been regarded as a possible nuisance. Mr. Fisher accords him his proper dignity and responsibility as a partner in the enterprise of educating his own children.

It is true that parents often have either lacked interest, or failed to reveal it. Two recent events have done more to awaken and canalize that interest than anything else that has happened during our generation. The first of these is the granting of the franchise to women. The second is the passing of the Education Act of 1918. As a general rule mothers have been much more intimately concerned with the education of their boys and girls than fathers, who could become fierce when politics or religion were involved, or dogmatic if the issue lay between a 'liberal' and a 'business' education, but for the rest were inclined to a vague pride in the progress of 'my boy' or 'my girl,' touched with a tendency to grumble at the cost. Women have been quicker to mark the effect of education on character, and to analyze a training into its elements. None the less, fathers have responded to any serious effort to explain to them what teachers are about. The conferences held in accordance with the Act have shown how ready are parents as a whole to take

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up the challenge when it is presented to them. For it is more than a kindly interest that is both needed and sought. At the time of writing, the scheme for the City of Nottingham is not yet complete, and has not in any way been made public. The writer recently attended a meeting of representatives of all the working-class bodies in the city called to hear an address on the Act, and a Report from a small executive committee appointed nearly a year ago to watch the attitude of the Authority towards the provisions of the Act, and to make definite representations to the Authority from time to time, as the Act recognizes its right to do. That meeting held a mandate from some 80,000 working-people in Nottingham. In other words, it was authorized to speak for nearly all the parents in the city whose children would benefit under the Act. The committee had brought before the Authority a number of points under the Act which were of considerable local importance, and had received satisfactory assurances as to the action contemplated by the Authority. This is an effective type of co-operation similar to that of 'His Majesty's Opposition' in sound and representative party government. There is no note of antagonism. The criticism is a help to the Authority, which has an organized and fully representative body to which it may turn for discussion of its proposals.

The share of the parents does not cease when the scheme of the Authority has been approved by the Board. The aim of the Act is to secure the constant help of parents in working out the detailed application of the schemes. This the Authorities are anxious to bring about. The Middlesex Authority has a particularly good plan for the formation of Parents' Associations, which it has tested with very happy results. It quotes from a leaflet issued by the Hornsey County School, where a Parents' Union has proved particularly successful. 'Since it is a matter of growing recognition that the schools are to teach the real aim and value of life, and thus show the pupils how to live, it is vital that the home should co-operate closely in the work.' An important point is that the influence of the parents in the home may support or hinder the school training and teaching without the knowledge of the teacher and often without their

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own knowledge. But the leaflet mentions various positive ways in which parents can help, such as by influencing school policy through intercourse with the teacher, by taking an active interest and actually participating in the social and athletic activities of the school, by serving on advisory committees for the employment of pupils, and by creating a favourable public opinion both locally and, through a national organization of parents, nationally, thus making easier the task of the Authority and of the Board. 'As members of the local community and as citizens of the State, parents are rate-payers and tax-payers. They are ultimately responsible for the local education of their area, and have power to stimulate and direct its provision and administration. Education Authorities may lead—and should lead—the parent-public, but they will not be able to get far ahead of it. They need its support, and wait for evidence of this in order to go ahead. Unions of parents, and county and national federations of such unions, are organizations that can enable parents to know the schools, to estimate local and national needs, and to take steps to meet them.'

Reference has already been made to the critical periods of choice that come to the children, the first at about eleven years of age and the second at about fourteen.* It is at these points that parents must take the long view, and impress it upon their children. At fourteen, especially, the boy or girl may be eager to get out to work, inclined to undervalue further education, and apt to depreciate liberal subjects. It is less the penalty provided in the Act for parents who connive at the absence of their children from continuation school without excuse than a deep appreciation of what the school may mean to the future of the young person that will persuade the parent to do his duty in the matter.

It is, of course, the parent who feels most acutely the economic pressure in favour of removing the child from all school attendance as soon as the law allows, and it is the parent who is therefore inclined to look with disfavour upon ambitions to continue full-time education after the elementary school leaving age has been attained. It is this pressure that so often tempts parents to urge their children to take

* See pp. 15–17 above.

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classes that are purely technical, because those studies appear to have an immediate money value. 'My boy must begin to earn at fourteen,' they say, forgetting that with scholarships the Authority may now give maintenance grants for all secondary education. Whether the expressed view of the Board that continuation schools are a form of part-time secondary education will legitimize maintenance grants to make up, in really necessitous cases, for the loss of wages while the boy or girl is in attendance at compulsory day continuation schools remains to be seen. The point arises more clearly when, as in rural areas, the whole period of continuation schooling for a year is taken in one block, and involves residence at a school some distance from the pupil's home. But for this the Authorities concerned have provided.

The objection may be raised that maintenance grants will involve inquisition on the part of the Authority into the income of the parents and the way in which that income is spent. That is neither necessary nor likely. Where, as in the case of the Birmingham Authority, a carefully graduated and liberal scale of grants in accordance with the declared income of the parent is laid down, all such difficulties are obviated. It might even be possible to stop at a declaration made by the parent that without such assistance his child could not proceed to the stage of education for which he is otherwise qualified. In either case the onus lies upon the parent to allow neither pride nor prejudice on his part to interfere with the possibilities of education for his child.

A similar point arises in connexion with the choice of employment. The Bradford scheme touches a very common difficulty when it says that 'in Bradford perhaps the main problem will be to persuade the parents of the boys who have been in the mill for a year or two to forgo the higher wages in order to take up an occupation which offers a permanent future before it is too late.'

One other outstanding share of the parent in the working of the Act must be mentioned. It consists in the influence that he can exert upon his children to utilize their leisure in attendance at the continuation school during the evening, whether for further class-work or for the purposes

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udies appr must beg ith schola grants in ed view a part-time grants to of wages sory day nt arises period of ock, and e pupil's l have nts will nto the come is e, as in duated eclared ties are aration is child ch he is pon the part to ld. oice of ommon e main no have wages nanent orking ne in- their g the poses

indicated by Section 17 of the Act. Such attendances will be voluntary, as will be attendance at school camps. Enough has already been said as to the value of this part of the school life to show that every parent who really cares for the development of a fine spirit, as well as an alert mind, in his children will see, so far as in him lies, that they do not neglect or miss the opportunities offered to them in this way.

CHAPTER VII

THE DUTY OF THE EMPLOYER

THE extent to which the Act deals with the employment of children is often overlooked by the general public. Yet one of the longest and most detailed sections is devoted to this question. The half-time system prevalent in the North of England, and the struggle which took place with regard to it when the Education Act of 1918 was still a Bill before Parliament, effectively obscured the amount of work done during the year by children in other parts of the country who attended school for the full number of hours each week demanded by the previous Education Acts. The Director of Education for Manchester, addressing the North of England Education Conference on January 8, 1921, stated that some children between the ages of seven and fourteen years, while in attendance at school, worked as many as fifty hours per week in a great city which, until recently, had no employment bye-laws. He has since been kind enough to furnish the writer with details.

Regulation of the employment of children has now become the *duty* of the Local Education Authority, and while the Act introduces a minimum of requirements which the Authority is responsible for enforcing, it also gives the Authority wide *powers* of adding to these demands, either by passing bye-laws of general local application, or by making special rules for individual cases. This is a valuable development. It relates the question of the degree and manner of a child's employment to what ought to be the

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supreme consideration for all who have the care of hi during childhood—his free growth in body, mind, and spiri Nothing that would in any way hinder or deflect that d velopment should be allowed. The Act is logical in givi to that department of the public service which is respo sible for fostering this development control of all th affects it.

Under the definite provisions of the Act, all employme of children under twelve years of age on April 1st, 192 the day appointed for the coming into force of this sectio became illegal. Those between twelve and the elementa school leaving age may not be employed for more than t hours on a Sunday, or before the close of school hours any day when they are required to attend school. In case may they be employed before six o'clock in the morni or after eight o'clock at night—a rule which applies to bo under twelve or girls under sixteen employed in public p formances, ' being exhibited for profit,' or offering anythi for sale, as does the prohibition of all employment of childr under twelve. Licences must be obtained for the emplo ment of children in these special ways, and the Lo Education Authority now becomes responsible for issui them. No child under the elementary school leaving a may in future be employed in any factory or workshop which the Factory and Workshops Acts of 1901 to 19 apply, in any mine to which the Coal Mines Act of 19 applies, or in any mine or quarry to which the Metallifero Mines Acts of 1872 and 1875 apply.

The Authority may make a bye-law permitting the e ployment of children of the age of twelve or upwards bef school hours, and the employment of children by th parents. But such employment before 9 a.m. on a scho day must be limited to one hour, and if it is permitted, t child is not to be allowed to be employed for more th one hour after school hours. The regulation of street tradi by children is now left entirely in the hands of the Lo Education Authority.

Finally, the Authority may prohibit or attach such co ditions as it thinks fit to the employment of any child any manner whatever (whether permitted by the terms

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the Act or not) if it is satisfied that this or any employment would be prejudicial to the child's health or physical development, or render the child unfit to obtain the proper benefit from education.*

It is worth while noting that the Act regards the parent as an employer if the child is engaged upon regular domestic work, just as much as if the parents use him or her in business, trading, farming, or any other ordinary employment out of school hours. The employer and the parent are compelled, under penalty, to furnish the Authority with any information required as to the employment of children, and are alike subject to a fine if they fail to comply with any requirement of the Authority or wilfully give false information.

At the end of September 1920 some sixty Authorities had secured Government confirmation of their new bye-laws under the Act. As these appear in the schemes surveyed for the purpose of the present book, they exhibit a keen desire to safeguard the welfare of the children, and a great reasonableness with regard to the practical effect that will be produced, both in the homes of the children and in the employments or industries concerned. They vary considerably in the light of local conditions. There are, however, certain points in which there is almost universal agreement. Thus, for example, street trading for girls under sixteen is prohibited by all but three, which allow girls of fifteen to trade when accompanied by their parents, and one which permits girls of fourteen to do so under similar conditions. Nine Authorities allow boys of fourteen to trade in the streets, but the others require a minimum age of fifteen. In all cases a licence is required for boys and girls under sixteen.

About one-third of the Authorities allow the hour before school on school-days, in which case, of course, children so employed may not work for more than one hour after school. Most Authorities limit employment after school hours on school-days in any case to two hours, and Swansea limits it to one, but the Bradford Authority allows three in industrial work at home. Where permission is given to

* But see Note, p. 90.

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employ children before school hours, the Authority in most cases requires the employer to see that the child is 'provided during the course of such employment with efficient waterproof footwear and a sufficient waterproof garment to protect the child from injury to health from inclement weather.'

Saturdays and school holidays are not specifically mentioned in the Act. Most Authorities allow a maximum of five hours of employment on such days, variously distributed. In some cases it must be between stated hours, and this naturally makes effective supervision easier. Many of the schemes do not define the exact hours between which children may be employed on holidays, but stipulate that they shall be secured in the enjoyment of an unbroken period of five hours for rest and recreation—a provision similar to that which many make regarding ordinary evening employment, when they require that the children shall have sufficient time for tea.

It is significant that a number of Authorities have fixed a maximum number of hours for employment in any one week, these ranging from sixteen hours, whether the school is open or not, to twenty-five hours when the school is open for five days a week. Comparatively few fix the hours for holiday weeks, but those who do fix them at a number varying from sixteen to thirty-five. That children should be permitted to work for such a length of time when they are supposed to be still in whole-time attendance at school, and that this should be the case under an Act which certainly is a great advance upon all previous legislation, shows that there remains ample scope for a further development of a national system of education sufficiently human to afford the child full freedom of natural development, and that we are not yet so far away from the horrors and mischiefs of the half-time system as we sometimes imagine. It is true that all the Authorities allowing employment before school hours require that a child shall secure a medical certificate before taking up the work, but this is only a precaution against injury. Insistence upon the positive right of the child to go to school eager and unwearied involves prohibition of all employment before school hours: but even

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the Authorities which have taken this line allow employment after school hours and on holidays. The commendable exceptions are the Finchley and Gosport Authorities, which have prohibited all employment of children under thirteen years of age.

While it is thus the duty of the Authority to see that the child, while at school, is not hindered or injured by being illegally or unsuitably employed out of school hours, its powers of aiding the young person to find the right kind of employment when the time comes for him or her to go to work in the ordinary way are extended. The Education (Choice of Employment) Act, 1910, conferred on certain Authorities the power of assisting boys and girls up to the age of seventeen in making choice of an employment: this is now extended to the age of eighteen, so that the Authority can continue its good offices in this respect until the young person is no longer under obligation to attend the continuation school.

Under the earlier Act a great many Authorities entered into co-operation with the Labour Exchanges on lines suggested by a Memorandum issued by the Boards of Trade and Education in 1911. They either, like the Manchester Authority, administer, through a special sub-committee, an Employment Bureau, with which the Ministry of Labour co-operates mainly by providing some portion of the staff of the Bureau; or they establish a Central Care Committee, like that at Birmingham, which works in co-operation with the Juvenile Employment Exchanges. In either case the committee comprises members of the Education Committee, representatives of teachers, employers, and workpeople, and voluntary social workers. It was not always easy to get all children to register with the Bureau on leaving the elementary school, or to keep in touch with them between the ages of fourteen and seventeen. Now both difficulties are likely to be solved by the establishment of the continuation school, and the relationship between teachers and pupils thus made possible.

How great was the need, not only for the introduction to a 'first job,' but for guidance in the case of transfer to other 'jobs,' often a very frequent process, is well illustrated

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by the following quotation from *The Facts of Poverty*, in which Mr. H. A. Mess draws upon his experience in Canning Town. The evil from which so many of the boys and girls in our schools need to be protected is not merely 'blind-alley' employment, which leaves them at eighteen or so too old to continue at their existing employment and untrained for any other, but misfit employment, which may have results nearly as bad. The necessary contact with them to the age of eighteen, and the power to advise them at every crisis connected with their employment during that critical first four years, gives the Authority the opportunity of saving a great proportion of the nation from wasted lives, and of conserving for the service of England a great wealth of productive power now often misspent. Mr. Mess says: 'A boy will leave school at fourteen without any definite idea as to what he wants to do, and perhaps with little guidance from his parents. He will enter some industry at a busy time. Later on, when his firm is slack, he will be dismissed and will have to find another job. He himself will be restless, and will take and leave jobs without much sense of responsibility. The foremen, on their part, have little hesitation about dismissing a boy. So it may well be that a boy (far less frequently a girl) will have from ten to twenty jobs in two or three years. . . . Here are a couple of records of boys showing how they move about from job to job:

'F., aged fifteen and a half, worked—

As barber's latherer . . .	1 week
As milkman's boy. . . .	4 months
In a sawmills	2½ months
In a laundry	3 months
Packing custard	6 weeks
In a printing works . . .	6 months

'G., not quite sixteen, worked—

In a wire rope works . . .	3 days
In a biscuit factory . . .	2 weeks
As a van-boy	?
At a saw-mills	6 weeks
At another saw-mills . . .	5 months

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At the first saw-mills . . .	3½ months
At a cake factory. . . .	1 month
At the first saw-mills . . .	2 weeks

and was again out of work at the time of the interview.'

It is not possible here to go into the details of the various forms of organization by which the schemes provide for the fulfilment of this important power given to the Authorities. All that can be said is that the wisdom, experience, and knowledge of parent, teacher, employer, Care Committee or Bureau officer, and social worker are focused in a marvellous fashion in order that they may be put at the instant disposal of the young person. One quotation from the Birmingham scheme may be given as typical of the human care and sympathy that is expended upon this task, and of the way in which the employer is helped to discharge his heavy responsibility in connexion with young people, just as those young people themselves are aided to perceive an ideal of vocation and pursue it.

'Now that Section 9 (1) of the Education Act, 1918, which provides that children shall not leave Public Elementary Schools until the end of the term during which they attain the age of fourteen, has come into operation, all children leaving school are interviewed beforehand, and where necessary the children are offered suitable employment. The parents are invited to be present at the interview. Early in each school term the Group Care Committees meet for the purpose of allocating the leavers. The officers of the Central Care Committee and of the Juvenile Employment Exchanges canvass employers for the purpose of obtaining from them offers of employment for the children concerned. A meeting of the parents is then held, at which the future of their children is discussed. As soon after this as can be arranged by the Central Care Department, the Committee's Organizers and the Exchange Officials together visit the schools in rotation, and in collaboration with the head teachers, and where possible the parents and helpers, endeavour to fill such offers of employment as have been received. It will be seen that under this scheme full advantage is taken of the teachers' knowledge and experience of the children under their control.

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'In addition, the Juvenile Employment Exchanges receive and register applications from young persons up to the age of eighteen, and endeavour, with the approval of the Central Care Committee's officers, to place these applicants in situations for which they are suited and where they are most likely to be successful. As reports are from time to time received from the Care Committee helpers, they are transmitted from the Central Care Department to the Exchanges, where they are filed with the head teacher's report cards. They are thus rendered available for reference should any young person attend for assistance as to his or her employment.'

The Bradford scheme makes this particularly interesting comment: 'It should be clearly realized, first, that the problem will not be, in the main, one of placing boys direct from school, but of watching them and seeing that they get into good work afterwards; and, secondly, that no employment agency for juveniles in Bradford can succeed on a large scale if it relies simply upon the voluntary application of boys and girls to the Exchange. . . . The demand for juvenile labour is so great that an effective employment agency will have to depend largely upon the influence which either the officers of the Education Committee or voluntary workers can bring upon parents and children to come and seek advice even when they can readily find work of some kind for themselves, or when the boys are actually in some kind of employment.'

Obviously the first moral duty of the employer is to utilize to the full such provisions as these, and especially to see that his foremen, or others who engage young persons for the firm, are doing so.

The legal duties of the employer under the Act regarding the employment of children during the elementary school age, the release of young persons for attendance at continuation school, and the establishment, if he desires, of a works school, have been set out on pp. 26 and 27 of this book.

He is open to penalties for employing a young person in such a manner as to prevent that young person from attending a continuation school which he or she is required to attend under the Act.

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Attendance at continuation schools is clearly intended to fall during 'employer's time,' though there is no suggestion that the employer should pay wages for that period in each week. The loss in wages would thus fall upon the young person,* and this loss is estimated by the Education Committee of the Federation of British Industries at £1,440,000 for the first year. This calculation is made on the reckoning that there are 600,000 young persons to whom the Act will apply, and of these, 60 per cent. are taken as generally being in occupation, the minimum average daily wage being put at 2*s*.

There are several problems to be faced by the employer. Unless he is to cease employing young persons under sixteen, and later under eighteen, he will need to add about 25 per cent. to the number of young persons on his staff, and this may increase the costs of production; it certainly will entail some amount of reorganization. This, however, he will doubtless accept as inevitable, though he may at the same time determine that the increased cost must be passed on to the consumer. The temporary difficulties connected with reorganization will speedily adjust themselves. Over against this will be his ultimate benefit from the improvement in the intelligence and spirit (probably the health also) of all his workpeople, and the consequent greater power of production.

If he already has works schools in existence, he will ask whether he should carry them on. If he has not, he will consider whether he should establish them, particularly in neighbourhoods where there is a probability that the coming of the appointed day for the Local Education Authority will for one reason or another be long delayed. In the last case the employer cannot afford to carry on his business with a less well educated staff than his fellow-employers elsewhere will necessarily obtain, by reason of the earlier introduction of continuation schools in their localities.

The *Report of the Education Committee of the Federation of British Industries on Compulsory Continued Education* says:

* But see recommendation of the Education Committee of the Federation of British Industries quoted on p. 73 below.

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'From many points of view it would seem that the position of the works school under the Act is not stable, and accordingly it is a doubtful proposition for a manufacturer to create a school now, *solely for the purposes of the Act*; but where schools with proper accommodation are in existence, it would be advisable to fit them into the local scheme of education, so that they may be recognized.' Some Authorities, however, have definitely announced that in any case they do not intend to recognize works schools, and certain well-known schools are therefore in due course to close, the Authority making necessary provision for the pupils who will thus be displaced.

The opposition to works schools on the part of organized labour, as well as on that of one section of educationists, has already been mentioned, and there is much justification for it on general principles, as well as in view of the line taken by a number of what were practically works schools before the Act (particulars of which are given in many of the schemes which propose to continue recognition under the new circumstances). It is only fair to employers, however, to draw attention to such a long and detailed list of educational facilities offered by employers to young persons (frequently as a condition of employment) as that contained in *Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere*, which Sir Michael Sadler published in 1908. There is also the fine record of such works schools as those at Bournville, York, Nottingham, and more recently London. The writer was lately present at a meeting where unqualified condemnation of works schools in general was conjoined with high praise of the local specimen. Fact is sometimes more pleasant than theory, and it will be well to remember this in discussing works schools. At least employers have given substantial evidence of their real desire to do their best for their employees, and not merely to secure either *kudos* or increased production and profits for themselves. Also it is without question that, if we owe the new law demanding continuation schools to educational prophets like Sir Michael Sadler and Mr. Fisher, it is the pioneer employers like the Cadburys, the Rowntrees, Sir Jesse Boot, and others who have shown us *in their works schools* what non-vocational continued education may be and should be.

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A further quotation from the conclusions of the F.B.I. Committee will add to our conviction that employers as a whole are ready to fulfil their duty in a disinterested spirit. The recommendations refer to works schools which are either continued or newly established :

'In deciding the curriculum, an advisory committee of educationists, employers, and employees would be of great assistance, and for this purpose branches of the National Alliance, Whitley Committees, and other joint bodies of employers and employed should be used whenever possible.

'Firms should help to meet the young employee's loss of wages upon his attendance at educational courses, but this should be dependent on satisfactory efforts being made by the young persons to make the most of their educational courses.

'The main lines of co-operation have been enumerated, and there is little doubt that the provision of scholarships, payment of fees, etc., will be maintained. It is strongly urged, moreover, that the co-operation between industry and education should be of an active order, and manufacturers throughout the United Kingdom should assist on one or more of the lines indicated.'

The schemes issued by the Authorities show, on their part, a desire for the advice and assistance of employers, as of other sections of the community, in all the phases of the application of the Fisher Act, but more particularly in the matter of continuation schools. Ample place is given to them on special committees, as well as in the more informal working of the local arrangements. To this invitation they will doubtless consider it a point of honour to respond, and will show that, of all who care for the citizenship of the future, they are by no means the least thoughtful and enthusiastic.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITY

THE mistake has too long been made of regarding the Local Education Authority and its officers as pieces of machinery. They might well protest in an ancient phrase: 'Sirs, we also are men.' Mr. Albert Mansbridge, in *Cambridge Essays on Adult Education*, makes a happy reference from which a useful moral might be drawn. He speaks of a new willingness on the part of the State to supplement grants of money by the 'assistance of specially selected and experienced advisers, ordinarily called inspectors.'

Sir Robert Blair has remarked that in the continuation schools the 'humanists have their opportunity.' A glance over half a dozen of the draft schemes issued by Authorities will suffice to prove that humanists are very numerous among members of Local Education Committees and their Directors of Education.

The Authorities have been neither dilatory nor reluctant in facing the demands of the Act. In reply to a question in the House of Commons, Mr. Herbert Lewis, Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, stated on November 15th, 1920, that schemes or instalments of schemes for continuation schools had been submitted by eleven county, eleven county borough, and twenty non-county borough and urban district Local Education Authorities. He also stated that the Board had fixed appointed days for the purpose of Section 10 of the Act (i.e. the section referring to continuation schools) for London, Birmingham, West Ham, and Southend-on-Sea County Boroughs, for the Borough of Stratford-on-Avon, and the Urban District of Rugby in Warwickshire, for the Borough of Swindon in Wiltshire, and finally for young persons resident in Kent, but employed in London, who will attend London schools. This group of Authorities has set a fine example to the country as a whole.

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At the same time, it is true that a restricted view of education, elementary, secondary, and technical, has prevailed over a considerable period of years in many parts of England. Rate-payers, and even members of Councils, have regarded it as a duty that had to be done, but that was almost as mechanical and obvious as the task of keeping the roads in good condition, or seeing that the streets were adequately lighted. Neither the romance nor the range of education has been apparent to the public mind. Consequently education has not taken the high place it should in civic life and thought, nor has it had the advantage of so rich a personnel on Education Committees as it deserves and requires.

With the passing of the Act of 1918, however, the Local Authority has become responsible for providing within its own area a system of education which is national in its outlook. To quote the words of the Act, each Authority is encouraged 'to make a comprehensive and systematic survey of the educational needs of its area, and to formulate a policy for progressive development and organization of its educational provision in relation to national as well as local requirements.' When it has presented a scheme on this basis, and that scheme has been approved by the Board, it is the *duty* of the Authority to put that scheme into effect. That is to say, the Authority is committed by Act of Parliament to giving its ideals definite and concrete embodiment.

As we have already seen, the Act does much to enlarge the whole conception of elementary and secondary education in a number of directions. It requires considerable extension of the existing activities of the Authority within these fields; but the very character of the continuation schools which the Authority is now, for the first time, required to provide will do more than anything else to lift all its educational work into a new light. Enough has already been said to show that the broad lines upon which continuation schools are to be established, and the intimate relation to everyday life which they are to maintain, must lead to a more enlightened conception of elementary education. At the same time, the development within their areas of con-

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tinuation schools will inevitably constrain Authorities to take 'further' and adult education seriously. Even the consequent rise in the rates will help to bring this about, unless the Council, as it has already done in some instances, takes fright at the scheme submitted by its Education Committee, and tries to reject it in whole or in part. It is significant that the London Municipal Societies recently approached the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Minister of Health, and the President of the Board of Education with the plea that both the Education Act of 1918, and all the Health Acts, should be reconsidered and adapted to the present state of national and local finance, 'as it is quite impossible to provide for the enormous additional expenditure which will be involved in carrying them out in their present form.'

In this connexion it must be remembered that, great as are the *duties* laid upon Authorities by the Act, the *powers* are both greater and more numerous. The Act secures a minimum, but if any approximation to real progress is to be attained, everything will depend upon the ability of the Authority to win local support for something that goes considerably beyond that minimum. The West Sussex Authority was the first to publish its draft scheme, and the scheme contains a sentence which is worth quoting: 'The Authority fully appreciate the fact that the work of organizing the construction of the system of schools foreshadowed in the above scheme will be a severe test of their educational insight, political courage, and social wisdom.'

Undoubtedly, at the present juncture, finance is a greater obstacle than even general apathy or lack of vision with regard to education. On all hands there is perturbation at the increasingly heavy burden which the rate-payer is called upon to bear. It is frequently said that for the addition to local and national expenditure the Education Act and the expensive schemes of Authorities are largely responsible. In another connexion it has been pointed out in the House of Commons that much of this apparent increase is due merely to the fall in the purchasing power of the pound. Mr. Fisher, on November 10th, 1920, replied in great detail to the deputation from Trade, Industrial, Manufacturing,

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Rate-payers', and Municipal Associations represented at the Conference on High Rates held in Westminster on November 2nd. He observed that in the last two years it has become necessary, owing to the rise in the cost of living, for Authorities to increase the salaries of elementary teachers by an amount that involves a total national expenditure of £22,000,000, though even then the salaries have been increased only 138 per cent. over pre-war level as compared with the increase of 164 per cent. in cost of living. 'The main cause of the addition to educational expenditure,' he said, 'is that everything is more than twice as dear as it was before the War, and you will see, by reference to a white paper issued in August, that a very small proportion indeed of the increased cost of education has been due to educational developments resulting from new legislation.'* He made a further important point when he remarked that 'the cheap part of elementary education is book education; the more you attempt to give a practical bias either on the industrial or on the commercial side to your system of national education, the more expensive you make it.' He also emphasized the fact that education and health go together, and that a considerable part of our educational expenditure is expenditure devoted to the physical condition of the children in our schools.

Coming to the question of continuation schools, Mr. Fisher pointed out that 'the Education Act of 1918 is so constructed that its development can, by administrative action, be regulated to some extent in point of time, and so as to take account of the financial difficulties of particular areas. If an area wants a system of continuation schools, feels that it can get teachers, and has found the premises, if the employers want it, and if it is thought to be a good thing, then the Authority will ask us to name a day, and we shall name a day, and the system will be started. But there are many Authorities who find great practical difficulties, and those difficulties we shall take into account in considering

* This was further emphasized by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on December 9th, 1920. He observed that 'there is no increased charge from the [Education] Act of 1918. The total of that runs to £400,000 or £500,000 for continuation schools.' Mr. Fisher subsequently stated at Sheffield that the actual amount is £310,000.

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when we shall name a day in any particular area. The Authorities themselves have, after all, by this time realized that their rates are very high. It is consequently, I think, very unlikely that the Authorities will press us for patently extravagant schemes. If they do it is always within our power to disallow them.'

The Prime Minister, at about the same time, answered a question in the House of Commons, as to whether it was likely that the cry for economy in education would lead to any temporary modification of the Act, by saying, 'I think it would be very serious—I could not conceive anything more serious—that the nation should come to the conclusion that it cannot afford to give a good education to its children.'

Mr. Herbert Lewis has carried the question even further back in an address to the Efficiency Club. He said: 'The situation is full of difficulty. But may I remind you that there is a very great quantity of work to be done at the present time at a comparatively trifling cost? There is the machinery to be overhauled and cleaned, small administrative defects to be remedied, and, most important of all, it remains for us to obtain full value for the money we have actually spent. That is a point which business men and women will, I am sure, appreciate. One of the principal considerations that weighed with Parliament in passing the Continuation School Clauses of the Act was that, under the system as it existed at that time, the sums spent in elementary education between the ages of five and fourteen were to a great extent wasted by the absence of further provision for the children, and it is only when the continuation schools are in proper working order that we shall obtain benefit for what we are now spending on our elementary schools.'

The Act contains important sections which simplify and consolidate the method of making grants to Local Education Authorities. This was formerly very complicated and unsatisfactory. The basis now established is that the total grant 'shall be not less than one-half of the net expenditure of the Authority recognized by the Board of Education as expenditure in aid of which Parliamentary grants should be made to the Authority.' If the grant due in accordance

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with regulations falls short of this, a deficiency grant equal to the amount of the deficiency will be paid. But in reckoning its claim, the Authority must exclude from its expenditure all sums paid or payable to it by any other Government Department. If an Authority fails to perform its duties under the Act, or to comply with the conditions upon which grants are made, the deficiency grant may be reduced, or a deduction made from the substantive grant. The Board has full power to pay grants towards any expenditure which an Authority may lawfully incur, and Authorities are now enabled to base their claims for grants upon expenditure in the current year, whereas hitherto they had of necessity to calculate their claim to Supplementary Grant upon figures two years old. Before the War, as the Prime Minister reminded the House of Commons on December 9th, 1920, the Exchequer bore 45 per cent. of the burden of education, and the rates 55 per cent. The burden on the rates became so heavy that appeals were made to the Treasury, and the figures are now reversed.

Space will not permit further discussion of the question of cost, except that it may be pointed out that the increase in expenditure on education is far less than on other public services, national and local. This is constantly verified by comparative figures presented from time to time to Parliament by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and by the detailed account of local expenditure which every rate-payer will find on the back of his demand note. Also it should be recalled that, according to reliable estimates, 20 per cent. of national expenditure in Europe and America at the present time is on account of armaments. If anything like an equivalent amount were expended in these countries on education in the liberal spirit characteristic of continuation schools schemes, it can hardly be doubted that the League of Nations would become a living and world-wide reality, and that the necessity for expenditure on armaments would very largely cease. With regard to local expenditure it may be noted, taking Birmingham as an example, that the Chairman of the Finance Committee, when introducing the Education Estimates for 1921–2, said that while the expenditure of the city as a whole had increased the rates by

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90 per cent., the cost to the rates on account of education was barely a 50 per cent. increase on their previous charge.

The majority of the Authorities have realized their civic and human responsibility, and have for the most part striven to fulfil, not only the letter, but the intention, of the Act. They have called upon the resources available through voluntary organizations in considering how they shall develop their powers under that most vital clause, Section 17. This in itself is evidence of their careful economy, as well as of their desire for the co-operation of all citizens. The arrangements they propose for maintenance, as well as for scholarships and bursaries, avoid the tantalizing policy of holding out general prospects which can be realized only by the exceptional boy or girl. Details have been considered, so that there may be no irritating 'spoiling of the ship for a halfpennyworth of tar.' For example, the Dorsetshire Authority has taken into account even the cost of travelling incurred by children required to attend central or continuation schools in rural areas, and compelled, therefore, to travel considerable distances from their homes. Most of them have determined that the full period of 320 hours each year shall be arranged for continuation schools: very few have taken advantage of their power to cut the time down for the first seven years to 280 hours. They have opened the highway to the universities, and many of them not only indicate that young persons who, in one form of school or another, show the requisite ability, and pass the matriculation examination, will certainly not lack financial help towards a course at the university, but in many cases they have founded definite scholarships. In fact they have in their schemes complied with the requirement of the Act, that no child or young person who would otherwise benefit from educational facilities shall be debarred because of inability to pay. Yet there is no evidence of heedless extravagance, or of a tendency to spend for spending's sake. The schemes are obviously based on a most careful survey of local needs and resources. The Birmingham Authority, for example, not only knows exactly how many continuation school places it will require, but also exactly how and where these are to be provided.

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Having fulfilled their responsibilities for the preparation of schemes, the greater responsibility now devolves upon them for seeing that no indifference, ignorance, or panic, local or national, interferes with the attainment of the high ideals which they have expressed in terms of organization, curriculum, buildings, and staff. Just as the average man needs to perceive that capital is not a mountain of golden sovereigns, but land, machinery, raw material, credit, brains, and all things else without which goods cannot be made or exchanged, so he must be shown the education rate, the Authority's scheme, and all the staff, buildings, and other necessary provision for carrying this out, in terms of life. This the Education Committee must bring about. It is for those who are true citizens, with a grasp of the real meaning of education, to see that Education Committees are strengthened, and that a great campaign is carried on, not only among the general public, but among members of Councils too. Above all, it is to be remembered that, in the words of the Board of Education's *Suggestions for Schemes under the Act*, 'it is obviously important that the Authority should not take too short a view, or confine its educational vision within the limits which present resources in personnel, material, or money may suggest.' The Authority should therefore approach the subject with the intention of providing a programme of educational development for a period of ten years at least. Such a programme will naturally be most precise and detailed in regard to the work proposed for the first few years of such a period. It is now necessary to provide not merely for dealing with the arrears which have accumulated during the War, but also for the building up of a much improved national system of education; and the schemes to be submitted now or in the near future should therefore certainly not exclude proposals for developments which can only be carried out during the latter part of such a period as has been mentioned. The submission of such proposals at this juncture, even if only in outline, will afford a basis for deliberate consideration of future needs, and the proposals themselves can be modified and more accurately defined as the time for giving effect to them approaches.*

* On the whole of this chapter see Note, p. 85.

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CHAPTER IX

THE CLAIM UPON OUR CITIZENSHIP

ALREADY some faint-hearted educationists and short-sighted rate-payers are suggesting that the continuation scheme may be shelved, at any rate as far as compulsion is concerned. Even if the more wealthy and progressive Authorities establish these schools, will they be permanent? Is it not likely that the alternatives, in one form or another, of whole-time education up to the age of sixteen, will speedily drive out the continuation school? Such are the questions that people are asking. As we have seen, there are some sections of the community which, in their eagerness for whole-time education, either oppose continuation schools as a hindrance to the speedy attainment of that ideal, or accept them as a definite means of reaching it all the more quickly—for anything in the nature of a compromise may, in the end, work either way.

One of the primary objects of these pages is to urge that the continuation school is far more than a link in an otherwise broken chain, or a temporary substitute for a far better system which must ultimately replace it. From the point of view of educational theory, as well as from that of practical adaptation to the needs of everyday life, the continuation school has an independent, and as yet scarcely realized, value of its own. This comes out when it is contrasted with those types of secondary school in which vocational training is given almost an exclusive prominence, and with all forms of junior technical school. Authorities that have had considerable experience of these say frankly that young people profit most by technical training when they have already received a good general education—good in a sense which it has been proved impossible to achieve before the age for leaving the elementary school arrives.

The mingling of daily activity in an ordinary factory or office with mental stimulus and discipline for a certain

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portion of the week, and above all with the social development that is a function of the continuation school, is literally and absolutely the key to our education problem. An unrelieved plunge into commerce and industry tends to be dehumanizing, just as continuance in nothing but book studies tends to a lack of practical wisdom. The continuation school affords an effective opportunity of learning how to blend knowledge and experience in a social atmosphere that is the very life of adult education.

Without a broad and deep growth of adult education the future of democracy, in this country as in all others, is fraught with disappointment and peril. Consider the social, industrial, and international problems of the present time. The chaos in Europe, in England, in Ireland, is due to bad thinking and perhaps worse feeling. There is, in all political parties and in the great religious and social organizations of the country, not only an admitted lack of leadership: there is also an unwillingness, and perhaps an inability, on the part of the rank and file to follow a good lead when by chance it is given. This all springs from defective education, in the broadest sense of the term.

The pessimists tell us that things will get worse before they get better. It certainly is probable that these problems will not be solved within our own generation. We have no right to pass them on to the next generation without giving that generation the equipment necessary for dealing with them, especially as the problems themselves result so largely from our own lack of an adequate and truly humane education. Neither have we any right to confer upon our heirs new privileges and heavy responsibilities, such as those involved in the extension of the franchise or the widening of control in industry, unless we also seek to develop in them the power to use these privileges and to discharge those responsibilities happily and honourably.

Mr. J. R. Clynes has lately addressed Parliament on this subject in terms of grave warning and strong appeal. 'You cannot save by impoverishing the intellect of the people,' he said: 'you cannot gain by the continued ignorance of the people.' Remarking that only 10 per cent. of the people between the ages of fifteen and twenty-three—'the receptive

years, the educational years'—are getting any kind of educational instruction, he continued: 'You have, therefore, the great mass of the working classes . . . qualified to vote, qualified to organize in their trade unions, entitled to all the rights of a nation progressive in every other direction, and yet doomed to this state of ignorance, and reaching an age of maturity without ever, I may say, reaching an age of wisdom. It will not do, therefore, for us to be responsible, in this year or next, for saving some few millions a year out of the enormous reserves of the country's wealth, at the expense of continuing that mass of dangerous ignorance which will go with us year by year until it is enlightened.'

The adult education movement itself is not a sufficient remedy for the neglect of adolescent education. The *Final Report* of the Ministry of Reconstruction Committee on Adult Education says that 'adult education is not, as is sometimes supposed, an attempt to achieve, by an educational *tour de force*, results which can be produced only by patient effort wisely directed from the years of childhood. Nor is its aim merely to compensate for the manifold imperfections of higher education by offering to men and women the educational opportunities which the deficiencies of our educational system, or their own economic circumstances, have prevented them from receiving in youth.'

It is plainly both our privilege and our duty to put the whole Act into force as rapidly as efficiency will allow. Especially must we see to it—as parents, teachers, employers, members of the Education Authority, rate-payers, tax-payers—that the keystone of the arch is not omitted. Continuation schools we must have, costly as they may prove, for they will touch with a new humanism all the other parts of that national system of education which they are designed to bind together as one whole, and thus they will bring a fresh freedom, power, and joyousness into the whole of our English life.

It may mean sacrifice in a number of ways. If we spend more on education we may be able to spend less upon the provision of scarlet uniforms or upon tar-paving the roads. Individually we shall have to make larger contributions to the public purse and limit our expenditure upon luxuries of

one sort or another. Working-class homes may have to afford support to the young people for a little longer: middle-class families must learn to live the life of the new poor: wealthy firms will need to be content with a smaller output or higher costs of production.

But dare we compare this with the sacrifice that both our forbears and our contemporaries have made for us? The Statute Book and the Cenotaph, our own education and the ideals wherein we were nurtured, all bear witness to these things. *Noblesse oblige.*

NOTE ON NEW ARRANGEMENTS FOR POST-PONEMENT

DURING the passage of this little book through the press, four important events have occurred affecting the operation of the Education Act 1918:

(1) The Select Committee on National Expenditure has issued its Seventh Report, in which it deals with national expenditure on education. The net total for England and Wales, 1920–21, it estimates at £78,876,829 (£47,161,829 from Parliamentary grants, £31,750,000 from rates); for the United Kingdom the sum is £97,206,548. The Committee recommends that those parts of the Education Act 1918 which involve increased expenditure should be suspended, and makes the charge that under the Act neither Parliament, the Board of Education, nor the Local Education Authorities can control expenditure, because the Authorities are compelled to carry out certain statutory duties, the cost of which is determined by circumstances beyond their control, while the Board is committed to grants in a fixed relation to the expenditure of the Authorities. But this Report completely fails to grasp the real effect of the clauses in the Act under which all Authorities must submit schemes to the Board, which may demand modification of them or even reject them, but must justify such rejection to Parliament. The Report also ignores the checks on local expenditure provided by the fact that no Local Education Committee

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can incur expenditure without the sanction of the County, Borough, Urban, or Rural District Council that appointed it. The value of the Report is further heavily discounted by the remark of the Select Committee that 'Our Sub-Committee has not inquired into the quality or the efficiency of the education provided at the public cost, or its value to the community. Inquiries into policy have been confined to those considerations which affect finance and expenditure.'

(2) The Government has decided that, 'except with fresh Cabinet Authority, schemes involving expenditure not yet in operation are to remain in abeyance.' The Board of Education issued a brief Circular (1185) to Local Education Authorities conveying this instruction.

Meantime Mr. Bonar Law answered a question in Parliament by saying that 'the suspension of the Act relating to Continuation Schools in areas for which appointed days are already fixed would require legislation,' and Mr. Fisher gave an answer identical with that previously given regarding the number of these areas by Mr. Herbert Lewis (see p. 74 above).

The Board of Education has now issued a Circular (1190) stating fully its policy regarding the application of the Government decision to the operation of the Act. Among the points specially relevant to the matters of which this book treats are the following:

(i) Authorities are asked to continue to prepare and submit general schemes, because 'this procedure will not only make it easier for Local Education Authorities to resume the development of the public system of education, including the establishment of a system of continuation schools, when financial conditions are more favourable, but will also, even in present conditions, be conducive to economy and to prudent administration.'

(ii) Proposals of special urgency must be submitted separately, with full estimates of cost.

(iii) Proposals already sanctioned, but not yet carried out, must be re-submitted with an estimate of cost.

(iv) Economy must not hinder efficiency. 'If a Local Education Authority fails on its own initiative to take the

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necessary action to remedy conditions which bring the schools or their system below a tolerable standard of efficiency, particularly in respect of adequacy of accommodation, staffing, or attention to the physical condition of the children, the Board cannot hesitate to make and insist upon their own requirements.'

(v) The Board cannot at present entertain proposals for the establishment of Nursery Schools, or for fixing further appointed days for Continuation Schools.

(vi) In view of the urgent need, proposals for increasing secondary school accommodation, and increasing the number of free places, will be considered on their merits.

(vii) The supply of teachers is an urgent matter, and 'proposals for this purpose, whether by way of provision of maintenance allowances, or the extension of secondary schools, or the establishment of pupil-teacher centres to supplement them, or the augmentation of facilities for training, will receive special attention.'

(viii) Provisions of the Act for maintenance of the School Medical Service must be carried out, and the Board will entertain proposals for its gradual improvement and its extension to secondary schools and other places of higher education. Authorities should complete their 'ascertainment' of various types of defective children, but special school provision for them will probably be too costly at present.

'The Board rely confidently on Local Education Authorities to co-operate with them in the difficult circumstances of the present time, in devising means for carrying on the public system of education with the strictest economy, and at the same time in such a manner as to protect the vital interests which it serves, and to keep open the lines of advance when financial circumstances are more favourable.'

Plainly the Board refuses to be frightened or browbeaten into abandoning the characteristic principles and proposals of the Act. At the same time it adopts a wise and loyal attitude of patient economy. Mr. Fisher said at Sheffield, on January 7th, 1921, that the Education Act of 1918 was the law of the land, and would remain so as long as he was at the Board of Education, but he reminded his audience that

(as the Schemes under the Act were intended to do) it was necessary to plan for a long period of years.

Naturally certain reactionary Authorities are already considering the abandonment of their schemes for continuation schools and for the increase of secondary school accommodation. But these are few. Those whose 'appointed day' for continuation schools were fixed are going forward. London opened its schools on January 10th. The Birmingham City Council resolved to ask the Board of Education not to insist upon the appointed day, but its Education Committee has recommended it to proceed. Authorities that had not had their appointed days determined are in many cases devising special means of meeting the situation. Manchester has twelve continuation schools carried on in existing buildings (such as clubs, secondary schools, and institutes) not used during the daytime: the schools are on a voluntary basis: eighty firms send their young employees, and, says the Director of Education, 'there is evidence from the young person himself, the employer, and the parent, as to the great advantage to all concerned which has resulted.' The Kent Authority is asking permission of the Board to open Junior Institutes (i.e. continuation schools) in September 1921, since to defer action entirely would be to make the work of the Authority more difficult at a later stage, would create the impression that the Authorities do not intend to put the Act into operation, and would undo the effect of preparing the public mind during the last two years for real educational advance. The Pembroke Authority (see pp. 16, 29 above) is considering a plan by which all children would remain at school till the fifteenth birthday, and for such further period as would cover the number of hours for which they would attend continuation schools between fifteen and sixteen. Thus the young person would be free at fifteen and a half, and would have received practically a full secondary course.

Probably one result of the decision of the Government will be to increase the tendency of Authorities to provide for a whole-time school life up to the age of sixteen, this being divided into primary education to the age of eleven or twelve, and secondary, in one form or another, to the

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age of sixteen. The York, West Ham, and other Authorities have already moved in this direction. Essex proposes a postponement of continuation schools in view of the fairly complete scheme of secondary education, and the range of evening-class work in the county. The Middlesex Authority note that two newly-established central schools in its area, if carried on by Part III Local Authorities, would provide full-time secondary education to the age of sixteen, and would be free. If they are to become secondary schools, it would therefore appear to be necessary to conduct them as free secondary schools, and the Higher Education Sub-Committee recommends that this be done. *The Times Educational Supplement* argues strongly, in criticism of present educational expenditure, 'not that it is excessive, but that for the same sum we might have a much more efficient system,' and that 'without any increase of cost, the 2,000,000 children who will not under the present system receive the secondary education for which they are fitted could be given it' (issue of January 13th, 1921). This rests upon the proposal, which is finding increasing favour among Authorities, 'to abolish "elementary education" as such, to sweep away higher elementary education, with its costly central schools, and to substitute schools which give . . . primary and secondary education in continuous courses' to the age of sixteen.

(3) The Board of Education has issued a Circular (1183) to Local Education Authorities stating that, as the 'Termination of the War' has not yet officially arrived (owing to the delay in completing the peace with Turkey), the subsection of the Education Act 1918 providing for the abolition of the half-time system, and of the exemption of children under the age of fourteen from the obligation to attend school, together with that which enables Authorities to make bye-laws extending the school age to fifteen, cannot (under Section 52 of the Act) for the present be enforced. It was intended that January 1st, 1921, should be the 'appointed day' for these.

This is accidental, and not a matter of policy like the general postponements described in Circular 1190. But it is interesting to note that this delay, on the ground of the

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legal terms of the Act itself, has already drawn strong protest from Yorkshire and Lancashire. The Bradford Elementary Education Sub-Committee, and a mass meeting of Bradford teachers, a mass meeting of the Lancashire Teachers' Association (representing 18,000 teachers) held in Manchester, a Conference of Lancashire Education Authorities held at Preston, and a meeting of textile managers have all passed resolutions asking that the sections in question be put into operation with the least possible delay.

(4) The Employment of Women, Children, and Young Persons Act, 1920, came into operation on January 1st, 1921. This affects the postponement of certain sections of the Education Act 1918 mentioned in the above two paragraphs; and the Board of Education, in Circular 1187, while declining to interpret the Employment Act, states what, in its opinion, will be the position during the interval that elapses before Section 8(1) of the Education Act can be made operative.

Children may continue to claim total or partial exemption from school under existing attendance bye-laws providing that it is shown to the satisfaction of the Local Education Authority that they are 'beneficially employed,' and have satisfied the prescribed conditions of previous due attendance. But the Employment Act 1920 forbids the employment of any child under fourteen in an 'industrial undertaking,' so that, in the words of the Board, 'the possible field of employment for children will be very much restricted.' But some employments which will remain open to children are of an unsatisfactory character, and Authorities are urged to scrutinize carefully claims made on the ground that the proposed employment is 'beneficial.'

Children over twelve and under fourteen, exempted under existing attendance bye-laws on the ground that they have reached a prescribed standard, can continue to claim exemption, whether they are employed or not. But, as the Board remarks, cases of this kind have not been numerous, and probably exemptions will not be claimed except for purposes of employment.

Children under fourteen who were lawfully employed for full-time on January 1st, 1921, may continue to be so

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employed. Children who at that date were lawfully employed as half-timers may continue as such, but cannot be employed for full-time unless they satisfy the conditions of the school attendance bye-laws and the Factory and Workshops Act, 1901.

'Fourteen' in the Employment Act 1920 means the fourteenth birthday, and the prohibition of employment for a child under fourteen does not entitle the child, as in the Education Act 1918, to remain at school till the end of the term in which he reaches his fourteenth birthday.

An interesting comment is made by Alderman Jackson, Chairman of the Education Committee of the West Riding County Council, who suggests that children between the ages of twelve and fourteen who can pass the prescribed standard may leave school but may not be employed. The Committee has passed a resolution calling upon the Government to bring into operation at once that portion of the Education Act 1918 which relates to the school-leaving age.

January 24th, 1921.

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The Times Educational Supplement (weekly, 2*d.*), *Education* (weekly, 3*d.*), and the *Journal of Education* (monthly, 6*d.*), contain frequent items of news, and articles relating to the various applications of the Act, schemes of Local Education Authorities, etc.

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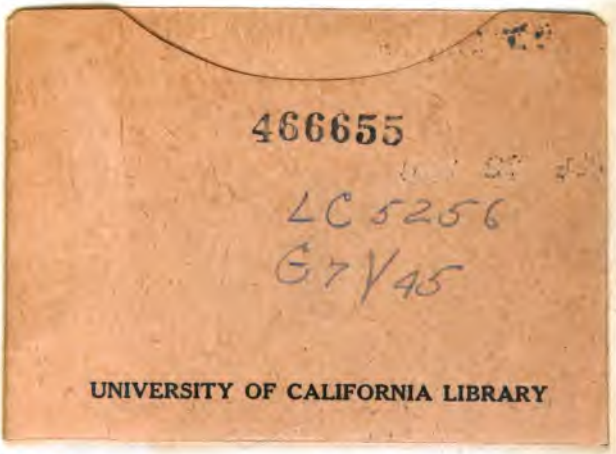
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